

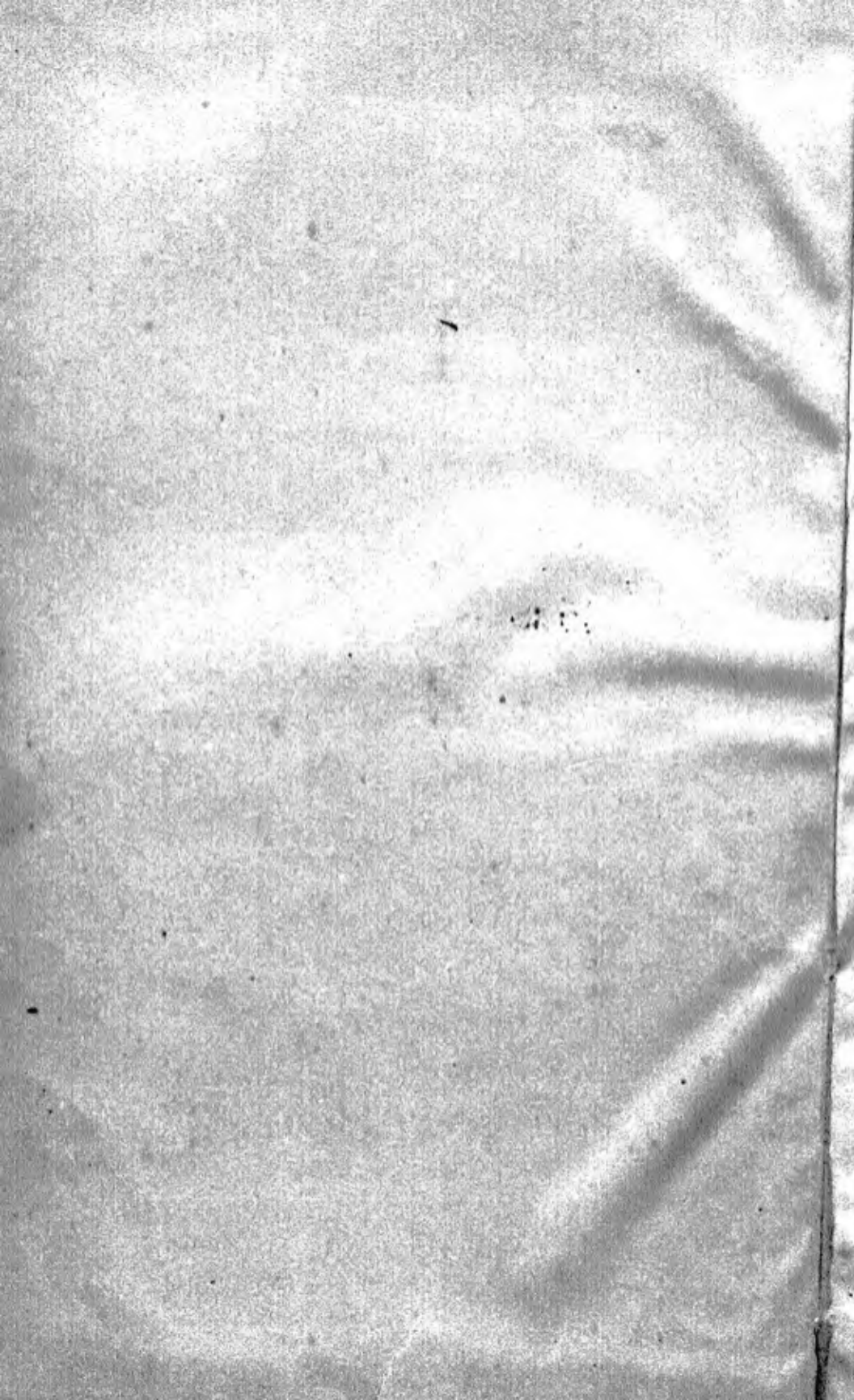
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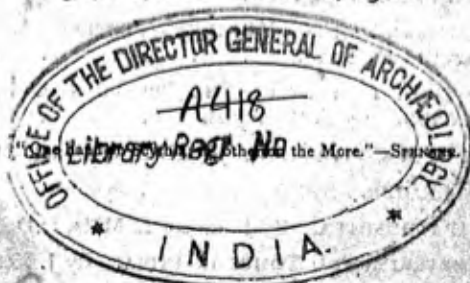
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## CONTENTS.

	PAGES
THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION. By Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., late Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan . . .	1
CONVENTION SIGNED ON AUGUST 31, 1907, BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA, CONTAINING ARRANGEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT OF PERSIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND THIBET, AS PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT . . . . .	25
MAP . . . . .	35
THE NEW SWADESHI: SHALL IT BE THE TRUE SWADESHI? By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. . . . .	37
THE PROPOSAL TO SEPARATE JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS IN INDIA. By S. M. Mitra . . . . .	52
THE DEVELOPMENT AND TRADE OF BURMA. By J. Nisbet, D.Ec., formerly Conservator of Forests, Burma . . . . .	73
LIFT IRRIGATION IN INDIA. By General J. F. Fischer, R.E. . . . .	98
THE FUTURE OF NIGERIA: AN ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION OF THE "BARO-KANO" RAILWAY. By Major Arthur Glyn Leonard, author of "The Lower Niger and its Tribes," etc. . . . .	103
COOLIE EDUCATION IN INDIA AND CEYLON. By A. G. Wise . . . . .	118
THE GHAZALS OF HAFIZ. By A. Rogers . . . . .	123
URIYA GRIEVANCES. By Major A. Glyn Leonard . . . . .	135
ISLAM IN CHINA. By E. H. Parker . . . . .	139
PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION . . . 147, 157, 359—383	
THE PROPOSED ABOLITION OF THE INDIAN COTTON DUTIES. By Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. . . . .	225
TARIFF REFORM AND INDIAN CURRENCY REFORM: AN ANALOGY. By F. J. Kingsley . . . . .	239
THE PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA. By N. G. Welinkar, M.A., LL.B. . . . .	258
POPULAR GOVERNMENT AMONG MUSALMAN PEOPLES. By Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell . . . . .	276
SOME LESSONS FROM HISTORY ON THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By C. W. Whish . . . . .	293
THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION. By H. F. B. Lynch, M.P. . . . .	307
THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE. By "A. B. C." . . . . .	329
A HYMN OF ZARATHUSHTRA. By Professor L. Mills, D.D. . . . .	334
CHRISTIAN CEMETERIES AND TOMBS IN INDIA. By J. Kennedy, late Bengal C.S. . . . .	338
BRITISH INTERESTS IN MOROCCO. By "A Member of the Overseas League" . . . . .	353

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC. . . . .		PAGES
Reorganization of the Colonial Office: Dispatch to the Governors of the Self-governing Colonies.—The Congo: An Appeal to the Nation.—The Overseas League . . . . .		158, 384
The British in India. By R. Carstairs. . . . .		158—178, 384—390

REVIEWS AND NOTICES . . . . .		179, 391
-------------------------------	--	----------

A Handbook of Egyptian Religion, by Adolf Erman. With 10 illustrations. Published in the original German edition as a Handbook, by the General Verwaltung of the Berlin Imperial Museum. Translated by A. S. Griffith.—The Chinese Language and How to Learn it, by Sir Walter Hillier, K.C.M.G., C.B., Professor of Chinese, King's College.—Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon, by Harry Storey. With sixty-nine illustrations from photographs, and map.—The Strength of Nations: An Argument from History, by J. W. Welsford, M.A., formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.—Reflections on some Leading Facts and Ideas of History: their Meaning and Interest. The Ancient World. An Historical Sketch and Comparative Chart of Principal Events, with Special Chapters on the Bible Lands. 3 vols. By C. W. Whish (late Indian Civil Service), author of "Reform and Progress in India," etc.—Storia do Mogor; or, Mogul India, 1653-1708, by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian. Translated, with introduction and notes, by William Irvine, Bengal Civil Service (retired). 2 vols.—Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social, by Sir Alfred C. Lyall, K.C.B., D.C.L. First and second series. 2 vols.—Portuguese East Africa: The History, Scenery, and Great Game of Manica and Sofala, by R. C. F. Maughan, H.B.M. Consul for the districts of Mozambique and Zambesia, and for the territory of Manica and Sofala. With map and illustrations.—Egyptian Self-Taught (Arabic). Containing Alphabet and Pronunciation, Vocabularies, Elementary Grammar, Idiomatic Phrases and Conversations, Travel Talk, Money, Weights and Measures. By Captain C. A. Thimm. Third edition. Revised and enlarged by Major R. A. Marriott, D.S.O.—Hindūstānī Grammar Self-Taught. In four parts. By Captain C. A. Thimm. Second edition. Revised by Shams'ul 'Ulamā Sayyid 'Alī Bilgrāmī.—Japanese Self-Taught, with English Phonetic Pronunciation. Containing the Syllabary, Classified Vocabularies and Conversations, Travel Talk, Trade and Commerce, Army and Navy, Religion, Post-Office and Correspondence, the Numerals, Money, Weights and Measures. Edited by W. J. S. Shand.—Burma: A Handbook of Practical Information, by Sir J. George Scott, K.C.I.E. With special articles by recognized authorities on Burma. Numerous illustrations by the author and others.—Chinese Thought: An Exposition of the Main Characteristic Features of the Chinese World-Conception, by Dr. Paul Carus, being a continuation of the author's essay, "Chinese Philosophy."—Chinese Life and Customs, by Dr. Paul Carus. Illustrated by Chinese artists.—By Veldt and Kopje, by William Charles Scully, author of "Kaffir Stories," etc. . . . .

179—204

An English-Chinese Dictionary in the Vernacular of the Hakka People in the Canton Province, by Rev. D. MacIver, M.A., English Presbyterian Mission, Wu-king-fu (via Swatow).—Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy, mainly in the Nineteenth Century, by A. J. Sargent, M.A. Oxon.—A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1635-1639, by Ethel Bruce Sainsbury. With an introduction and notes by William Foster.—The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe, by Ernest Young, B.Sc. Third edition.—Japan's Beziehungen zu China, by the Rev. Albert Tschepe, S.J.—Heiligtümer des Konfuzianismus, by the Rev. A. Tschepe, S.J.—Calendrier-Annuaire pour 1908 (Siccawei Observa-

tory).—The Future of Japan, with a Survey of Present Conditions, by F. Petrie Watson.—Indian English: An Examination of the Errors of Idiom made by Indians in writing English, by George Clifford Whitford, Indian Civil Service (retired).—Sidelights on Chinese Life, by Rev. J. Macgowan, London Missionary Society.—Le Shinn-toisme, by Michel Revon, formerly Professor of French Law at the Imperial University, Tôkyô (second fascicule).—Bombay in the Days of George IV.: Memoirs of Sir Edward West, by F. Dawtrey Drewitt, M.A., M.D.—Missions to Hindus: A Contribution to the Study of Missionary Methods, by Louis George Mylne, M.A., D.D., Bishop of Bombay, 1876-1897, Rector of Alvechurch, Worcestershire.—The Sayings of Confucius. A new translation of the greater part of the Analects, with introduction and notes, by Lionel Giles, M.A. Oxon.—The Conduct of Life, by Ku Hung-ming, M.A. Edin.—Our First Ambassador to China: An Account of the Life of George, Earl of Macartney, from hitherto unpublished correspondence and documents, with illustrations, by Helen H. Robins.—Calcutta Old and New, by H. E. A. Cotton.—A History of Western Tibet—one of the Unknown Empires, by Rev. A. H. Francke, Moravian Missionary. With maps and illustrations.—The Pirates of Malabar, and an English-woman in India Two Hundred Years Ago, by Colonel John Biddulph.—Biographical Notices of Officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers, arranged and compiled by Colonel Sir Edward T. Thackeray, K.C.B., V.C.—Richard's Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire, 1908. Translated into English, revised, and enlarged, by M. Kennelly, S.J. One vol., 8vo., with one large map of China in seven colours in pocket, three other small-size maps in five colours, thirty-one diagrams or plans, seventy-two statistical tables, and five appendices.—Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt: being a Personal Narrative of Events, by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt.—A Short History of Indian Literature, by E. Horowitz. With an Introduction by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids . . . . .

391-426

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE . . . . .

205, 427

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE COLONIES . . . . .

214, 432

## THE LATE SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I. . . . .

441-442



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1908.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION.

BY COLONEL C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G.,

Late Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan.

WE have had numerous comments in both the British and Indian Press, in speeches, and in various reviews and magazines, on the Anglo-Russian Convention since the publication of the full text on September 25 last, and the time has now come when we can fairly sum up the various opinions expressed, and see how we stand. No one has wished for a really friendly agreement with Russia more than myself, but, as I pointed out in a letter to the *Times* of September 2, 1907, written just before the Convention was signed, in any really friendly understanding the concessions must be mutual, and a Russian offer simply not to break existing assurances did not seem to call for special concessions on our part. Yet this is what we have given. We have obtained, it is true, the written promise from Russia not to break existing agreements, but the concessions are not mutual; they are apparently all on our side.

The *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg sounded the first real note of alarm when, in his telegram of August 25 last, he described the concessions about to be made to Russia as "an honest price for insurance against invasion." Now, a price of that sort, honest or not, is nothing more or less than blackmail. It is not insurance at all, for it leaves

Russia with just as much power to invade as she had before. Our concessions, therefore, have simply given away much in the way of blackmail in the hopes of a possible goodwill, but yet all history tells us that goodwill was never bought by such means. Paying blackmail never answers in the end, and our only real security is our own national strength. The apparently underlying principle of the Convention—that we are prepared to pay for the promise of immunity from attack in India—is a principle, so far as I know, that has never before appeared in British treaties; and the *Scotsman* was, I think, the first newspaper to condemn the Convention when, in its issue of September 25, 1907, it said the nation “will not come easily to the conclusion that the agreement signed at St. Petersburg is a thing of which British diplomacy has reason to be proud.” This was followed three days later by a leading article in *The Outlook* vigorously attacking the Convention, and denouncing “the weakness and folly of our own Government in giving its assent to this egregious treaty.”

It would seem as if the Russian game throughout had been bluff, bluff, bluff—“Chantage,” in fact, of the deepest dye; and we may well ask ourselves, Was this really friendly? Is the Convention, on Russia's part, a really friendly agreement?

To take the arrangement concerning Persia first, the preamble of the arrangement is perfect. It is there stated that the Governments of Great Britain and Russia, having each “a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia adjoining or in the neighbourhood of the Russian frontier on the one hand, and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the other hand, and being desirous of avoiding all cause of conflict between their respective interests in the above-mentioned provinces of Persia, have agreed upon the following terms.” Had the following terms only agreed with the definition given above, how different would have been the result!

Let us consider what are the "provinces of Persia adjoining or in the neighbourhood of" the Russian, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan frontiers respectively.

1. Commencing at the Turkish frontier on the north-west of Persia, the Russian frontier adjoins in turn the Persian provinces of Azarbaijan, Ghilan, Mazendaran, and Khorasan—that is to say, the whole line of northern Persia, from Turkey on the west to Afghanistan on the east. According to the preamble, the Russian sphere ought to have been limited to these four provinces alone, but it has not been so limited.

2. The Afghan frontier commences at Zulfikar, on the north-east of Persia, a little to the south-east of Meshed, and runs south to Koh-i-Maliksiah, in Seistan, and thence the Baluchistan frontier carries the line on to the coast of the Arabian Sea at Guettar. The Persian provinces adjoining this line are the small south-eastern districts of the province of Khorasan, known as Turbat-i-Shaikh Jam, Bakhurz, and Khaf, and the provinces of Kain, Seistan, and Kirman.

According to the arrangement in the preamble, all these three districts and three provinces should have been included in the British sphere; but by the subsequent Article II. of the Convention the districts of Shaikh Jam, Bakhurz, and Khaf, are assigned to the neutral zone. The province of Kain, which ought to have been included in its entirety within the British sphere, has been divided into three. A bit of the northern portion down to Kahkh, including also Tun and Tabbas, is assigned to the Russian sphere. Then comes a stretch of neutral zone down to Gazik, and only there does the British sphere commence. The exact terms of Article II. are, "a line going from the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik," and this presumably means a straight line from the nearest point of the Afghan frontier to Gazik, an entirely distinct definition to "a point on the Persian frontier at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers," referred to in Article I. regarding the Russian sphere. So evidently the Russian



and British spheres do not start from the same place, as has been depicted in some of the sketch maps I have seen. Great Britain, therefore, would seem to have thus relinquished her direct interest in the maintenance of peace and order along that portion of the Afghan frontier between Zulfikar and Gazik accorded to her in the preamble, and this despite the fact that the central part of this portion of the Afghan frontier consists of the Afghan district of Hash-tadan, the boundary of which was settled by a British officer, Major-General Maclean, C.B., C.I.E., Consul-General at Meshed, acting as arbitrator between the two Governments of Persia and Afghanistan. Any day a similar office may have to be performed by other British officers to complete the demarcation of this part of the Persian-Afghan border. Complete freedom of action should therefore have been retained on this border by including it within the British sphere, but this has not been done.

Again, the province Kirman extends far to the west of the straight line drawn in Article II. between the two towns of Kirman and Bundar Abbas, and the whole of the province, according to the preamble, should have been included in the British sphere, and not simply the eastern half of it.

Let us also take Sir E. Grey's despatch to Sir Arthur Nicolson, dated August 29, 1907, published with the Convention. In this it is stated that "the arrangement respecting Persia is limited to the regions of that country touching the respective frontiers of Great Britain and Russia in Asia." Here again we find the same divergence between the actual terms and the definition as there given. In addition to the provinces of Azarbaijan and Ghilan, which alone touch the frontier of Russia to the west of the Caspian Sea, the whole of Western Persia, through the two provinces of Kurdistan and Kirmanshah, right down the Turkish frontier all the way south to Kasr-i-Shirin on the Baghdad border, has been handed over by Article I. to the Russian sphere.

Kasr-i-Shirin neither "touches the Russian frontier," nor is it situated in "a province of Persia adjoining or in the neighbourhood of the Russian frontier." In fact, a glance at the map will show that it is 300 miles away in a straight line from the nearest point of the Russian frontier at Julfa, to the north of Tabriz, and for what reason the terms of the arrangement as defined in the preamble should have been summarily departed from in the subsequent articles of the Convention is what we cannot understand. The two things, the preamble and Article I., are at direct variance.

We can realize the value of this concession to Russia just as much as we can realize the seriousness of the loss to ourselves. Kasr-i-Shirin commands the main route of entry for British goods into Persia, and the surrender of that place to the Russian sphere surrenders the development of British trade with Persia along that route into Russia's hands. The *Times of India*, the best informed of all Indian journals on Persian subjects, was, I think, the first to take notice of this, and in a leading article in its issue of September 28, 1907, it stated that, if Russia was to have any say in Kasr-i-Shirin, "no terms are too strong in which to denounce so wanton a sacrifice of British interests."

Not only, though, is the main road from Kasr-i-Shirin to Kirmanshah thus placed within the Russian sphere, but to add to this the line of delimitation by Article I. is actually turned from there even still further south, to include the towns of Isfahan and Yezd within the Russian sphere as well. Yezd lies well to the south of the great salt desert; the natural division of the eastern two-thirds of Persia. Isfahan is on the south-eastern side of the great central province, the very heart of Persia, known as Irak; and if any portion of Persia whatever was to be left as a neutral zone, it would naturally have been supposed that Irak would be that portion. The whole of it has, however, been handed over to the Russian sphere.

All trade routes, too, in the South more or less converge upon Isfahan, just as in the North they converge upon Teheran; and by the inclusion of Isfahan within the Russian sphere Great Britain is cut out completely from the main market of Southern Persia, and this, apparently, in direct contravention of the arrangement agreed upon in the preamble!

Let us now examine in turn the different trade routes for Russian and British goods entering Persia, and see how the Convention affects them respectively.

The main routes on the North for the entry of Russian goods are these:

1. From Julfa and other places in the Caucasus to Tabriz, Kasvin, and Teheran.

2. Via Enzelli and Resht on the Caspian to Kasvin and Teheran.

3. Via Meshed-i-Sar on the Caspian to Teheran and Semnan.

4. From Bandar-i-Gaz on the Caspian to Astarabad and Shahrud.

5. From Ashkabad and other places in Transcaspia via Kuchan and Bujnurd to Sabzawar, Nishapur, and Meshed.

6. Via Doshakh on the Transcaspian Railway to Meshed.

All these trade routes are included in the Russian sphere from beginning to end, and we have agreed not to seek any concession whatever along them.

Now we come to the routes of entry for British goods.

1. Baghdad is the main terminus of our water carriage. The route of entry into Persia for all heavy British goods is by sea-going steamer to Busrah, at the head of the Persian Gulf, thence by Messrs. Lynch and Co.'s river steamers up the Tigris to Baghdad, and from there by land carriage to Kasr-i-Shirin and Kirmanshah and onwards to Hamadan, Teheran, and other centres of Persian trade. This is the only route into Western Persia available for anything beyond mule-pack carriage. Had Kasr-i-Shirin only been

left in the neutral zone, we should, at any rate, have had an open door and equal opportunity for our British and Indian trade; but now that it has been placed in the Russian sphere, these are gone. Great Britain has bound herself by Article I. not to seek for herself nor to support in favour of British subjects, or of the subjects of third Powers, any concessions of a political or commercial nature along this route, and all chance of our ever being able to improve or develop it is thus at an end. Our trade there is left at the mercy of Russia, whose interest it is to hamper and retard its development in every way she can in the interests of her own trade routes in the North.

This, however, is not the only consideration. Kasr-i-shirin is bound to come to the front again in days to come, when the Baghdad Railway is under construction, and the control of the Baghdad-Khanikin and Kasr-i-Shirin Persian extension comes up for consideration. The *Fortnightly Review* for November (Foreign Affairs, p. 868) has pointed out that "Khanikin is just within Turkish territory; it is about 100 miles from Baghdad, and the promoters of the great German railway scheme have always counted upon building a branch line from Baghdad to Khanikin, which would carry a large pilgrim traffic, and would form one of the most profitable sections of the whole enterprise. But economically this very route will also form the best outlet towards warm water for the Russian sphere of influence in Persia. M. Isvolsky will doubtless negotiate upon his own account with Prince Bulow in this matter, but Russian diplomacy is entitled to fight for the control of the Khanikin line, unless the whole of the railway network within the Baghdad province is to be internationalized."

Now, the internationalization of the Baghdad Railway is a separate question that need not be entered upon here. Under circumstances as they exist at present, we may ask, Why should M. Isvolsky be left to negotiate with Prince Bulow, and to fight for the control of the Khanikin line solely "upon his own account"? If this Kasr-i-Shirin-

Khanikin-Baghdad line will form the best outlet towards warm water for the Russian sphere of influence in Persia, will it not equally form the best inlet for British goods into Persia? Great Britain and Russia ought both to be able to negotiate equally and conjointly with Germany in this matter, and yet by this surrender of Kasr-i-Shirin to Russia we have apparently deliberately and knowingly surrendered our right to any such joint action in the future. As the *Fortnightly Review* says: "M. Isvolsky will, doubtless, negotiate upon his own account"; and if for want of the acknowledgment of our rights in the Convention he is entitled to do so, we shall be left out in the cold. By thus signing away our rights to equal consideration in this Persian extension beforehand, it would look as if we had left ourselves without a voice in a matter that may be of the utmost importance to us in time to come, and as if we may have even prejudiced our claim to a rightful share in the construction of the Baghdad Railway itself. The thing, if done, is done—we cannot help it now; but, at any rate, let us recognize and acknowledge what we have done, and do our best to strengthen our hands for the future while we yet have time.

The *Fortnightly Review* goes on to say: "The Baghdad Railway terminus, unless constructed under conditions to which we could agree, would be protected from the first by a garrison, and would grow insensibly into a fortress. Neither can it be forgotten that the end sections of the line will have to be constructed by Indian labour, and that the terminus will become ultimately a great emporium for Indian trade. There are many reasons which make it of the utmost importance that we should obtain the control of the terminus and the internationalization of all the lower part of the line."

Now, with reference to the necessity for British control of the terminus on the Persian Gulf, I pointed out in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1906, that the control of the terminus, and even of the end sections in



addition, would not be sufficient for us if we were to have any voice in the development of Mesopotamia, and presumably a concession for development will accompany the concession for construction of the railway line. To share in this development it is necessary that we should have control of the waters high up where the heads of the irrigation canals take off from the rivers. Without that any concession to develop the country will be useless. As our influence over the trade route to Persia apparently now ends at Khanikin on the Turkish frontier, at any rate let us maintain intact what influence we have left in Mesopotamia. British interests predominate in Turkish Arabia far above those of either Germany, France, or Russia, and the position of the British Resident at Baghdad differs materially from that of the consular representatives of other Powers, and is of far older standing.

Mesopotamia is not a country that can be settled by Europeans. It is very sparsely populated, and if it is to be developed at all, it must apparently be developed by foreign labour. It is to India that I look for the supply of this labour, and it is to Southern Mesopotamia that I look for a promising field for the employment of the surplus population of India in years to come. When we think of what India has done in Uganda and in the construction of the Uganda Railway, it is clear that no Government in the world could build a railway through Turkish Arabia so cheaply and so well as the Indian Government, or could colonize and develop that country so well after the railway is built. We could neither build the railway nor develop the country though if we were subject to any sort of divided control, or to the interference of other Powers, either in the city of Baghdad itself or in the province of Baghdad; and if Great Britain, therefore, in return for financial and political assistance, is to have control of any portion of the Baghdad Railway, it should be the control of that portion from where the head-waters of the canals take off above Baghdad down to the terminus on the Persian Gulf, and not of

that portion below Baghdad city only. A good description of Mesopotamia will be found in the lecture on the Jazirah, or Peninsula, as the Turks call it, given by Mr. Mark Sykes before the Royal Geographical Society, and printed in the *Geographical Journal* for September and October, 1907, under the title of "Journeys in North Mesopotamia." From this it will be seen that the northern portion of the so-called peninsula is more or less divided from the southern portion by the Sinjar range of hills, that run across it about the same latitude as Mosul. It is to Southern Mesopotamia, to the south of this range, that British and Indian interests more immediately lie. Here the heat in summer will necessitate the employment of Indian labour, and here the Indian labourer will be best able to take up the work of development and colonization alongside the railway. Any railway in Mesopotamia must be a matter of great importance to the Government of India in consideration of the large pilgrim traffic that already exists between India and Kerbela and other holy places in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, where there is already a large resident Indian population. British interests in Baghdad are practically just as strong as those in the Persian Gulf. We can never lose sight of the overwhelming preponderance of British interests in the Persian Gulf, and of the blood and treasure that have been poured out there for the last century and more by Great Britain and India between them in policing the Persian Gulf. At the present day we are apt to forget all that was done by the British and Indian sailors and marines of the old Indian Navy in their many encounters with pirates, and the money that was expended in maintaining that navy in the Persian Gulf. If I remember right, one of H.M.'s ships was once overwhelmed by pirates, and every man on board put to the sword; but I hope we shall soon have a reliable record of all that was done in those good old fighting days, when the "Gazetteer" of the Persian Gulf, that was started by Lord Curzon shortly before he

left India, has been completed and published. We must similarly not lose sight of the predominant position that has been acquired by Great Britain at Baghdad, mainly the result of Indian action there for more than a hundred years. This predominant position should be strenuously maintained.

2. The next British route of entry into Persia is that by seagoing steamer to Muhumrah, at the mouth of the Karun River; then up that river to Ahwaz by Lynch and Co.'s steamers, and thence by the Lynch road across the Baktiari Mountains to Isfahan. The right to run British steamers on the Karun River was a hard-won concession to balance certain Russian concessions in the North, and when that concession was granted, the town of Ahwaz, to which the river steamers run, became one of the main openings for the entry of British trade into Persia. Considering the statement expressed in the preamble regarding the desirability "of avoiding all cause of conflict between their respective interests," it would naturally have been supposed that Russia, if sincere, would have agreed to the inclusion of the Karun in the British sphere; but it has been excluded. We have, therefore, no time to lose. Despite all our vested interests, we are left with nothing more than equal opportunities with other Powers, and our only chance is to be first in the field. Professor Arminius Vambéry, than whom we have no more faithful and trusty a counsellor, adjures us in his letter published in the *Morning Post* of November 7, 1907, to "spare neither trouble nor expense in giving a firm foundation to our communications between the eastern bank of the Tigris and the interior of Persia; in short, to put down a railway, not merely along the Karun route, but also along the route further north." We cannot do better than bear this good advice in mind.

The road across the Baktiari Mountains from Ahwaz to Isfahan was constructed by Messrs. Lynch and Co. with British capital, British engineers, and Indian workmen, under the supervision of Mr. Arthur Taylor, at much



labour and expense, under a special agreement with the Baktiari chiefs. So promising was the road considered for the development of British trade that Sir Mortimer Durand, then our Minister at Teheran, made a special tour in the autumn of 1899 to inspect the road and visit the Karun, and I would recommend to all readers interested in the subject Lady Durand's account of that trip, called, "An Autumn Tour in Western Persia," published by Constable and Co. in 1902. One would have thought that this road, so important for the furtherance of British trade, would have been carefully guarded; but no! Isfahan, the terminus of the road, the ancient southern capital of Persia, and the great distributing centre of the South, is now closed to us, as far as concessions go, by its inclusion in the Russian sphere. Great Britain has bound herself not to seek any concession for a railway, tramway, or anything else into Isfahan, and, the terminus gone, the rest of the road loses much of its value. Ahwaz, at the other end of the road, is not even in the British sphere, but has been left in the neutral zone; and though present concessions in the neutral zone are maintained by Article III., the maintenance of a mule-pack road, as I pointed out in a letter to the *Times* of October 4, 1907, simply condemns us to perpetual inactivity. Great Britain should no more be called upon to give up control of this road into Isfahan than Russia should be called upon to give up the control of her road from Resht into Teheran. The one should have balanced the other.

3. The same conditions apply to our third route of entry—viz., by sea to Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, and thence by mule-road to Shiraz and Isfahan. Shiraz has been left in the neutral zone, but the terminus and distributing centre Isfahan having been given up, the main incentive to improve this road has also gone. Bushire, too, is the headquarters of the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, and, considering "the special interests possessed by Great Britain in the Gulf, the result of British action in those waters for more than a hundred years," to quote Sir

Edward Grey's despatch, one would have supposed that in the arrangement regarding Persia Bushire would have been included in the British sphere at all costs, as well as Shiraz, the British Resident's summer quarters. But both have been left outside it! Shiraz is the capital of the province of Fars, and it is acknowledged in Article IV. that the Customs revenues of Fars and the Persian Gulf are assigned to cover the loans by the Imperial Bank of Persia; but even this did not suffice to secure the inclusion of Fars in the British sphere. The neutral zone that has thus been carved out between the respective spheres of interest on either side, as Lord Curzon said in his Romanes Lecture (the *Times*, November 4, 1907), "is an arrangement wanting both in expediency and permanence, the more so as the so-called neutral zone is carved exclusively out of the regions in which British interests have hitherto been, and ought to remain, supreme."

4. The fourth route of entry for British goods from Bundar Abbas, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, by mule and camel carriage to Kirman, through the arid rocky wastes of Persian Baluchistan, is used to a certain extent for Indian traffic; but Bundar Abbas is not, as a rule, a port of call for steamers from England, and the one route of entry that has been left us there is of comparatively little value. The trade there does not promise to be sufficient to pay for any particular development by road or rail in that direction, more especially now that Yezd has passed into the Russian sphere. Yezd is the head-quarters of the Guebres or fire-worshippers of Persia, and has many relations with the Parsis of Bombay in consequence. The latter race have spent considerable sums in trying to ameliorate the condition of their co-religionists at Yezd, and the surrender of that place to the Russian sphere will be an unexpected blow to them.

5. The fifth and last British route of entry is that from Quetta and Nushki in Baluchistan to Seistan. This is solely an Indian land route, and has to cross something

like 500 miles of desert to get to Seistan. The trade here would never pay for a railway, and the only chance of future development rests with a mono-rail, or some inexpensive contrivance of that sort that can be laid down on the present camel-track.

It will be seen, therefore, that while all six of the routes of entry for Russian goods have been carefully included in the Russian sphere from beginning to end, only two out of the five routes of entry for British goods have been retained for the British sphere, and those two the least important. Of the three main routes for British goods, one has been handed over entirely to the Russian sphere, and the other two have had their terminus handed over. This is a terrible handicap for British and Indian trade.

Commercially and industrially, therefore, both Great Britain and India have lost heavily by the way the agreement has been interpreted in the various articles concerning Persia. It has been said that the Persian trade, after all, is of comparatively little value to us, and that the price we have paid for the Convention is not such a very costly one, after all ; but that, I take it, is not the spirit in which to regard it. The volume of Persian trade may be small in comparison with that with other countries, but small or not, that seems no reason why we should surrender our equality of opportunity. Our officers and merchants in Persia have been labouring for years to maintain British interests in that country, despite many difficulties and adverse circumstances, and the only reward they now have for their labours is to see all that they have been labouring for surrendered, and the main routes of entry for British goods that they have striven so hard to maintain placed in the sphere or subjected to the influence of a rival Power, to whose adverse pressure they will have to give way in future. That is not the way to instil zeal and energy into our country's representatives, and it is certainly not the way that Russia treats her servants.

The case was summed up by Lord Percy in his speech

at Kensington, reported in the *Morning Post* November 13, 1907, when he said: "The exploitation throughout the greater portion of Persia of mineral resources, development of railways, etc., might become under this agreement the monopoly of a single Power, which will consequently be able, if it likes, to divert the courses of trade into the channels which are most convenient to its own interests." Can anyone who knows what Russian ways in Persia are doubt that this will be done?

The delimitation of Russian and British spheres in Persia was apparently a Russian, not a British, proposal. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1906, I gave extracts from a leading article in the *Novoe Vremya* of April 14, 1906, advocating a rapprochement with England on the ground, amongst others, of "the opportunity Russia would obtain thereby of defining her sphere of influence in Persia."

This sphere has now been defined, but with what disastrous results to British commerce and prestige in Persia; and yet in agreeing to such delimitation one would have thought we might have bargained for equality of commercial facilities, the maintenance of vested rights and long established interests, and equal areas. The great salt desert, about the 35th degree of latitude, is the natural division of two-thirds of Persia, and all those conversant with the mercantile conditions of Persia will agree that Russia possesses no special interests to the south of that line. British interests, as a matter of fact, to the south of that line far outbalance any Russian interests.

Had the Russian sphere, therefore, only been limited to the terms as laid down in the preamble, how much more fair, just, and friendly the Convention would have been! As it is, under the terms of the subsequent articles the various areas work out as follows:

Russian sphere	...	...	272,800 square miles.
Neutral zone	...	...	217,180        "
British sphere	...	...	141,100        "

The Russian sphere is thus nearly double the size of the British sphere in area, and comprises all the best of Persia, while the British sphere comprises the worst. Truly the Turks would seem to have had good ground for their criticism, as the Constantinople correspondent of the *Times* in his telegram of October 2, 1907, reported, that "in Turkish official quarters the view is that the Convention constitutes a remarkable proof of the superiority of Muscovite over British diplomacy; that great concessions have been made to Russia, without any adequate return; and it is difficult to see what advantages, direct or indirect, Great Britain has secured at all comparable with those secured by Russia." Considering that Turkish territory borders the whole western side of Persia, the Turks ought to be fairly good judges as to what concerns Persia, at any rate.

Shortly before the Convention was signed, various questions were asked in Parliament, requesting assurances regarding the safeguarding of British trade routes into Persia; but Sir Edward Grey, though he acknowledged that he "recognized the trade interest was one of the elements of importance," gave no information, and declined to make any statement while negotiations were pending. A special meeting of the Council of the Central Asian Society was then held, and a resolution was unanimously passed drawing the attention of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to "the great importance of safeguarding the existing British interests on the old-established trade route from Baghdad to Kirmanshah and the Karun route to Isfahan across the Baktiari Mountains, in the event of the negotiations for an Anglo-Russian agreement leading to any recognition of specific spheres of interest in Persia." The only result was that some six weeks later both Kirmanshah and Isfahan were definitely signed away! The Persians themselves are apparently aghast at this. A Persian writer in a letter published in the *Spectator* of October 26, 1907, after bewailing the misfortune of all



the richest, most fertile, and most civilized provinces of Persia falling under Russian influence, goes on to say, "especially Isfahan, of which the inhabitants are all English in taste and sympathies, and in which English commerce is tenfold that of Russia." If the Persians wonder at Isfahan being assigned to the Russian sphere, well may we! Mr. Angus Hamilton, in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1907, says: "It cannot be too widely known that by the terms of the present agreement we have made the most conspicuous surrender that the foreign policy of the Imperial Government has ever inflicted upon the commercial interests of this country." Professor Arminius Vambéry, in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1907, says: "We must look upon the Convention regarding Persia not only as futile and valueless, but even humiliating and injurious." This well-thought-out article by Professor Vambéry should be perused in its entirety.

It has been argued, with regard to the terms of the Convention, that Russia had already acquired a real, tangible position in both Bunder Abbas and Seistan, and that this position was a real, solid, political asset—a political asset upon which Russia put very high value indeed, and that she regarded it as a very considerable concession, yielding her footing in both these places; so much so that it is to be doubted if she would have yielded it for anything less than the undeniably high price that we have paid for it, in which case there would have been no agreement, and, after all, the fact of the agreement is the great thing.

Well, this last consideration as to the agreement being the great thing has, I see, been more than once questioned already. Mr. Lovat Fraser, in his noteworthy article in the *National Review* for December, 1907, says: "We have performed a superfluous act of renunciation, and have left the door open for the extension of influences, the reflex effect of which will certainly, in course of time, be felt in

India. It would have been far better to have left the situation as it was."

Professor Vambéry, in the *Nineteenth Century* for the same month, says: "The stipulations do more harm than good to British interests, and in the form it (the Convention) came out, it would have been much better not to come out at all." We in England, I take it, all desire an understanding with Russia, but we desire a really friendly and lasting understanding, not one "wanting both in expediency and permanence." There can be little doubt that had the understanding been concluded upon the terms expressed in the preamble to the arrangement concerning Persia, we should have had an understanding that bore friendliness and permanence on the face of it, and would have been unanimously welcomed accordingly. The terms defined in the subsequent articles can, however, by no means be said to be unanimously welcomed.

As to Russia's supposed position in Bundar Abbas and Seistan, that is only a fresh example of real Russian bluff. It is true that some few years ago Russia appointed a Consul in Seistan to try and strangle British trade along the newly developed trade-route from Quetta to Seistan, and that, with the help and connivance of some Persian and Belgian customs officials, she succeeded for a time in causing our Indian traders in Seistan considerable worry and annoyance; but once these troubles were surmounted, the Russian so-called real, tangible position came to an end. Russia has no trade of any importance in either Seistan or Bundar Abbas. Both places are practically dependant upon India for their trade, and the valuable political asset existed in nothing but Russia's own imagination.

If any such bluff on the part of Russia should really have been taken seriously by the British authors of the Convention, it only shows once more how necessary it is, as I pointed out in my letter to the *Times* of October 4, 1907, that we should "profit by the experience now gained, and by realizing the price we have paid for it, set to work

and so mend our constitutional and party system, and so strengthen our public offices that deal with foreign, Imperial, and commercial problems, that on the next occasion the country and the Empire shall not be exposed to the risk of industrial and commercial loss owing to the neglect of local knowledge and practical experience."

Lord Curzon, in his letter to the *Westminster Gazette* of July 29, 1907, suggested that the deliberations of the Defence Committee should be strengthened "by the inclusion in it of a few men trained in the Imperial questions which it is called upon to discuss, and acquainted with the countries and problems that come under review." Had anyone acquainted with the problems of Eastern Persia been included in the deliberations on the present Convention, they would soon have shown what was the real value of such Russian pretensions as these.

The Russian position in Seistan and Bunder Abbas could never for one moment be balanced in the scales against the British position in Meshed and Tabriz, and yet both those places have been included in the Russian sphere, quite irrespective of the fact that Great Britain has large commercial interests in both, and has maintained a Consul-General at both places for years. To talk of Russian concession in connexion with Seistan and Bunder Abbas is absurd.

What, then, is the cause of the surrender by us of Kasr-i-shirin, Kirmanshah, Isfahan, Yezd, and Kahkh, and all the British and Indian interests that those places imply? Lord Percy, in his speech at Kensington (*Morning Post*, November 13, 1907), gave it as his opinion that it is "impossible to resist the conclusion that the authors of the agreement have deliberately sacrificed, and knowingly sacrificed, the advantage, such as it is, of commercial equality for the sake of the advantage of strategical isolation," and then went on to say: "I do not think that we have, in fact, got this counterbalancing advantage." That is very serious criticism, and Professor Vambéry evidently



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had the same belief in his mind when he wrote: "If the loss sustained would show the germ of future advantages, then, of course, I would have kept quiet, and abstained from stigmatizing the whole matter as a failure."

Now let us turn to Afghanistan. How differently we have treated Russia there, to what she has treated us to in Persia! Here we find that by Article IV. of the Convention concerning Afghanistan we have given Russia equality of commercial opportunity in Afghanistan, and Great Britain agrees that any facilities which may be enjoyed by British and Indian traders shall be equally enjoyed by Russian traders. Now, the Russian customs cordon that has been drawn around the Russian provinces in Central Asia within the last twelve or fifteen years has absolutely put a stop to all trade from India. Indian traders are practically excluded from Russian territory. What, therefore, does Russia offer in return? Nothing! Then, again, Afghan trade with India is practically free. India possesses a sea customs tariff for revenue purposes, but there is no such thing as an Indian land frontier customs tariff, and why, therefore, should Afghanistan be compelled to grant Russia the same commercial facilities that are enjoyed by India? Again, we have further granted Russian frontier authorities the right of direct relations with Afghan frontier authorities in the settlement of local questions—a right which British frontier authorities in India do not even enjoy. Is it possible that Russia is to have rights in Afghanistan that are not possessed by Great Britain?

Further, it is laid down in Article IV. that "should the progress of trade establish the necessity for commercial agents, the two Governments will agree as to what measures shall be taken, due regard, of course, being had to the Amir's sovereign rights." This is the climax. Russia has rigidly excluded all British commercial agents from the whole of her Central Asian dominions. Not a single British Consul or Consular Agent is permitted either in Transcaspia or Turkestan. Not a single Britisher is allowed

to visit Kushk or to travel on the Merv-Kushk railway, and yet, despite all this, the authors of the Convention have gone out of their way to agree to Russian Consuls and consular agents in Afghanistan.

In Afghanistan and in Central Asia generally no difference is known between a diplomatic, a consular, and a commercial agent. Russia herself has no such difference in her Asiatic service. Her diplomatic and consular service in the East is all one, and not separate as with us. A Russian so-called commercial agent in Afghanistan would be a recognized Russian diplomatic agent. There is only one distinction known, and that is the recognized agent and the unrecognized or secret agent. As Mr. Percival Landon quotes in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1907, "In the East there is all the difference in the world between a recognized and an unrecognized agent." Again, in Article I. of the Convention, the Russian Government "engage not to send any agents into Afghanistan." In Article IV. the British Government engage, should necessity arise, to agree to the appointment of Russian agents in Afghanistan. Can anything be more contradictory? As Lord Percy said in his Kensington speech (*Morning Post*, November 13, 1907), "No one will deny the anomalies and even the illogical character of an agreement of that kind, and the worst of anomalies is that they are very apt to give rise to future misunderstandings." We have agreed, too, in Article I., not to encourage Afghanistan to take any measures threatening Russia, but there is no reciprocal engagement on the part of Russia to withdraw her frontier posts at Kushk, Karki, Kilif, Termez, and other places on the Afghan frontier, established solely for the purpose of threatening Afghanistan, and the Amir may possibly desire to have a little reciprocity in this respect. Professor Vambéry vigorously denounced this agreement in his letter (*Morning Post*, November 9, 1907) when he said: "Thus the doors are thrown open for all sorts of intrigues, while Russia still plays the innocent and professes to be guarding herself against the danger of



an English attack upon Russian Turkestan—as though the English had ever had the idea of advancing towards the Oxus!" The Professor then goes on to warn us that England "will be obliged to keep as watchful an eye as before upon the Russian-Afghan border," and we shall do well to remember this warning.

Afghanistan is a country of which no one can predict the future, and if one thing is more necessary than another it is that our hands there should not be bound in any way whatever. By the present Convention it would appear that the complete freedom of action that we have hitherto maintained has been curtailed. Lord Percy dwelt specially on this in his Kensington speech when he said, "Hitherto Great Britain has always claimed a position of complete freedom and independence in her dealings with Afghanistan," and that by the terms of the Convention "it might very plausibly be contended that we have given to Russia a general right to criticize and supervise the manner in which we conduct our relations with a country which Russia has repeatedly declared to lie altogether outside her own sphere of influence, and with which she in this very agreement declares once more that she will have no political relations, except through the intermediary of the British Government."

The *Times of India* (October 12, 1907), commenting on the Convention, after the publication of the full text in India, comes to the conclusion that "the agreement simply repeats the assurances Russia had already given, and to say that the articles relating to Afghanistan were a set off to the sacrifice of our commercial interests in Persia was absurd," adding that "the agreement specifically excludes the trading routes from Baghdad, Bushire, Muhammerab, and Linga, and that, we unhesitatingly say, is an uncommon bad bargain, to which there is no set-off in Afghanistan whatever."

As to the arrangement regarding Tibet there is nothing left to be said. One would naturally have supposed that it

would be the Russian Government only, and not the British, who engaged not to send representatives to Lhasa. After all that has happened we can only marvel at what our soldiers do and dare. Would Russia have considered the honour and fame of her soldiers so lightly as to throw away all the fruits of their labours after such an expedition as that into Tibet? When we think of all the privations, hardships, and suffering undergone by our troops, both British and Indian, in that campaign; when we think of the altitude of the mountains that were crossed; when we think of the ice, the snow, and the blizzards; when we think of the magnificent way in which our soldiers carried the expedition through to a successful issue despite all difficulties, and the complete justification of all they had striven for, is it right or fair on them that all their hardships and all their exertions should go for nothing, and the fruits of their labour should all be gratuitously thrown away? The arrangement is unfair on the soldiers and unfair on India, and it is India that has to pay the bill. However, the thing is done. But having done it, having "thrown out of the window," as Professor Vambéry expresses it, "the millions spent on the expedition under Younghusband," why is Great Britain simply "to enjoy in Tibet only the same rights and privileges as Russia, who has not yet spent a farthing to assert Western influence in this region of Asiatic exclusiveness?" (*Morning Post*, November 9, 1907).

Tibet is separated from Russian territory by the whole of the Kashgar, Yarkund, and Khotan districts of Chinese Turkestan, a province averaging some 400 miles in width and abutting on that icebound country generally known as the Roof of the World. As Lord Curzon pointed out in his Romanes Lecture (the *Times*, November 4, 1907), "Tibet is not a Buffer State between Great Britain and Russia. The one is contiguous, while the other has no territorial contact whatever with that country. The sequel of the recent expedition has merely been to make it again what it had latterly ceased to be—namely, a mark or frontier

protectorate of the Chinese Empire." Why, therefore, has Russia been thus brought into the arrangement regarding Thibet? In the annex to the Convention it is laid down "that if the occupation of the Chumbi Valley by the British forces has for any reason not been terminated at the time anticipated in the above declaration, the British and Russian Governments will enter upon a friendly exchange of views on this subject." India can only wonder and ask what on earth has Russia got to do with the Chumbi Valley?

CONVENTION SIGNED ON AUGUST 31, 1907,  
BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA,  
CONTAINING ARRANGEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT OF  
PERSIA, AFGHANISTAN, AND THIBET, AS  
PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT.

No. 1.

SIR EDWARD GREY TO SIR A. NICOLSON.

FOREIGN OFFICE,  
*August 29, 1907.*

SIR,

I have to-day authorized your Excellency by telegraph to sign a Convention with the Russian Government containing Arrangements on the subject of Persia, Afghanistan, and Thibet.

The Arrangement respecting Persia is limited to the regions of that country touching the respective frontiers of Great Britain and Russia in Asia, and the Persian Gulf is not part of those regions, and is only partly in Persian territory. It has not, therefore, been considered appropriate to introduce into the Convention a positive declaration respecting special interests possessed by Great Britain in the Gulf, the result of British action in those waters for more than a hundred years.

His Majesty's Government have reason to believe that this question will not give rise to difficulties between the two Governments should developments arise which make further discussion affecting British interests in the Gulf necessary. For the Russian Government have in the course of the negotiations leading up to the conclusion of this Arrangement explicitly stated that they do not deny the special interests of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf—a statement of which His Majesty's Government have formally taken note.

In order to make it quite clear that the present Arrange-



ment is not intended to affect the position in the Gulf, and does not imply any change of policy respecting it on the part of Great Britain, His Majesty's Government think it desirable to draw attention to previous declarations of British policy, and to reaffirm generally previous statements as to British interests in the Persian Gulf and the importance of maintaining them.

His Majesty's Government will continue to direct all their efforts to the preservation of the *status quo* in the Gulf and the maintenance of British trade; in doing so, they have no desire to exclude the legitimate trade of any other Power.

I am, etc.,  
(Signed) E. GREY.

No. 2.

SIR A. NICOLSON TO SIR EDWARD GREY (RECEIVED  
SEPTEMBER 3).

ST. PETERSBURGH,  
August 31, 1907.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit herewith the Convention which was signed to-day by M. Iswolsky and myself for the settlement of certain questions affecting the interests of Great Britain and Russia in Asia.

I also beg leave to forward a note which I received from M. Iswolsky in response to a communication from me, of which a copy is herewith enclosed, on the subject of the entry of scientific missions into Thibet.

I have, etc.,  
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

#### CONVENTION.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, animated by the sincere desire to settle by

mutual agreement different questions concerning the interests of their States on the Continent of Asia, have determined to conclude Agreements destined to prevent all cause of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Russia in regard to the questions referred to, and have nominated for this purpose their respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit :

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, the Right Honourable Sir Arthur Nicolson, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias ;

His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, the Master of his Court, Alexander Iswolsky, Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following :

#### ARRANGEMENT CONCERNING PERSIA.

The Governments of Great Britain and Russia having mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and sincerely desiring the preservation of order throughout that country, and its peaceful development, as well as the permanent establishment of equal advantages for the trade and industry of all other nations ;

Considering that each of them has, for geographical and economic reasons, a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia adjoining, or in the neighbourhood of, the Russian frontier on the one hand, and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the other hand ; and being desirous of avoiding all cause of conflict between their respective interests in the above-mentioned Provinces of Persia ;

Have agreed on the following terms :

I. Great Britain engages not to seek for herself, and not to support in favour of British subjects, or in favour of the

subjects of third Powers, any Concessions of a political or commercial nature—such as Concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, etc.—beyond a line starting from Kasr-i-Shirin, passing through Isfahan, Yezd, Kakhk, and ending at a point on the Persian frontier at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar Concessions in this region which are supported by the Russian Government. It is understood that the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Great Britain engages not to seek the Concessions referred to.

II. Russia, on her part, engages not to seek for herself, and not to support in favour of Russian subjects, or in favour of subjects of third Powers, any Concessions of a political or commercial nature—such as Concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, etc.—beyond a line going by the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Birjand, Kerman, and ending at Bunder Abbas, and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar Concessions in this region which are supported by the British Government. It is understood that the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Russia engages not to seek the Concessions referred to.

III. Russia, on her part, engages not to oppose, without previous arrangement with Great Britain, the grant of any Concessions whatever to British subjects in the regions of Persia situated between the lines mentioned in Articles I. and II.

Great Britain undertakes a similar engagement as regards the grant of Concessions to Russian subjects in the same regions of Persia.

All Concessions existing at present in the regions indicated in Articles I. and II. are maintained.

IV. It is understood that the revenues of all the Persian customs, with the exception of those of Farsistan and of the Persian Gulf, revenues guaranteeing the amortization and the interest of the loans concluded by the Government of the

Shah with the "Banque d'Escompte et des Prêts de Perse" up to the date of the signature of the present Arrangement, shall be devoted to the same purpose as in the past.

It is equally understood that the revenues of the Persian customs of Farsistan and of the Persian Gulf, as well as those of the fisheries on the Persian shore of the Caspian Sea, and those of the Posts and Telegraphs, shall be devoted, as in the past, to the service of the loans concluded by the Government of the Shah with the Imperial Bank of Persia up to the date of the signature of the present Arrangement.

V. In the event of irregularities occurring in the amortization or the payment of the interest of the Persian loans concluded with the "Banque d'Escompte et des Prêts de Perse" and with the Imperial Bank of Persia up to the date of the signature of the present Arrangement, and in the event of the necessity arising for Russia to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with the first-named bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Article II. of the present Arrangement, or for Great Britain to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with the second-named bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Article I. of the present Arrangement, the British and Russian Governments undertake to enter beforehand into a friendly exchange of ideas with a view to determine, in agreement with each other, the measures of control in question, and to avoid all interference which would not be in conformity with the principles governing the present Arrangement.

#### CONVENTION CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN.

The High Contracting Parties, in order to ensure perfect security on their respective frontiers in Central Asia, and to maintain in these regions a solid and lasting peace, have concluded the following Convention:

ARTICLE I. His Britannic Majesty's Government declare

that they have no intention of changing the political status of Afghanistan.

His Britannic Majesty's Government further engage to exercise their influence in Afghanistan only in a pacific sense, and they will not themselves take, nor encourage Afghanistan to take, any measures threatening Russia.

The Russian Government, on their part, declare that they recognize Afghanistan as outside the sphere of Russian influence, and they engage that all their political relations with Afghanistan shall be conducted through the intermediary of His Britannic Majesty's Government; they further engage not to send any Agents into Afghanistan.

II. The Government of His Britannic Majesty having declared in the Treaty signed at Kabul on March 21, 1905, that they recognize the Agreement and the engagements concluded with the late Ameer Abdur Rahman, and that they have no intention of interfering in the internal government of Afghan territory, Great Britain engages neither to annex nor to occupy in contravention of that Treaty any portion of Afghanistan, or to interfere in the internal administration of the country, provided that the Ameer fulfils the engagements already contracted by him towards His Britannic Majesty's Government under the above-mentioned Treaty.

III. The Russian and Afghan authorities, specially designated for the purpose on the frontier or in the frontier provinces, may establish direct relations with each other for the settlement of local questions of a non-political character.

IV. His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Russian Government affirm their adherence to the principle of equality of commercial opportunity in Afghanistan, and they agree that any facilities which may have been, or shall be hereafter, obtained for British and British-Indian trade and traders, shall be equally enjoyed by Russian trade and traders. Should the progress of trade establish the necessity for Commercial Agents, the two Governments will agree as



to what measures shall be taken, due regard, of course, being had to the Ameer's sovereign rights.

V. The present Arrangements will only come into force when His Britannic Majesty's Government shall have notified to the Russian Government the consent of the Ameer to the terms stipulated above.

#### ARRANGEMENT CONCERNING THIBET.

The Governments of Great Britain and Russia recognizing the suzerain rights of China in Thibet, and considering the fact that Great Britain, by reason of her geographical position, has a special interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* in the external relations of Thibet, have made the following Arrangement :

ARTICLE I. The two High Contracting Parties engage to respect the territorial integrity of Thibet, and to abstain from all interference in its internal administration.

II. In conformity with the admitted principle of the suzerainty of China over Thibet, Great Britain and Russia engage not to enter into negotiations with Thibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government. This engagement does not exclude the direct relations between British Commercial Agents and the Thibetan authorities provided for in Article V. of the Convention between Great Britain and Thibet of September 7, 1904, and confirmed by the Convention between Great Britain and China of April 27, 1906 ; nor does it modify the engagements entered into by Great Britain and China in Article I. of the said Convention of 1906.

It is clearly understood that Buddhists, subjects of Great Britain or of Russia, may enter into direct relations on strictly religious matters with the Dalai Lama and the other representatives of Buddhism in Thibet ; the Governments of Great Britain and Russia engage, as far as they are concerned, not to allow those relations to infringe the stipulations of the present Arrangement.

III. The British and Russian Governments respectively engage not to send Representatives to Lhasa.

IV. The two High Contracting Parties engage neither to seek nor to obtain, whether for themselves or their subjects, any Concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, and mines, or other rights in Thibet.

V. The two Governments agree that no part of the revenues of Thibet, whether in kind or in cash, shall be pledged or assigned to Great Britain or Russia or to any of their subjects.

ANNEX TO THE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN  
AND RUSSIA CONCERNING THIBET.

Great Britain reaffirms the Declaration, signed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and appended to the ratification of the Convention of September 7, 1904, to the effect that the occupation of the Chumbi Valley by British forces shall cease after the payment of three annual instalments of the indemnity of 25,00,000 rupees, provided that the trade marts mentioned in Article II. of that Convention have been effectively opened for three years, and that in the meantime the Thibetan authorities have faithfully complied in all respects with the terms of the said Convention of 1904. It is clearly understood that if the occupation of the Chumbi Valley by the British forces has, for any reason, not been terminated at the time anticipated in the above Declaration, the British and Russian Governments will enter upon a friendly exchange of views on this subject.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg as soon as possible.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at St. Petersburg, August 18 (31),  
1907.

(L.S.) A. NICOLSON.  
(L.S.) ISWOLSKY.

*Inclosure 2 in No. 2 referred to in Sir A. Nicolson's letter to Sir Edward Grey.*

SIR A. NICOLSON TO M. ISWOLSKY.

ST. PETERSBURG,  
August 18 (31), 1907.

M. LE MINISTRE,

With reference to the Arrangement regarding Thibet, signed to-day, I have the honour to make the following Declaration to your Excellency :

"His Britannic Majesty's Government think it desirable, so far as they are concerned, not to allow, unless by a previous agreement with the Russian Government, for a period of three years from the date of the present communication, the entry into Thibet of any scientific mission whatever, on condition that a like assurance is given on the part of the Imperial Russian Government.

"His Britannic Majesty's Government propose, moreover, to approach the Chinese Government with a view to induce them to accept a similar obligation for a corresponding period; the Russian Government will, as a matter of course, take similar action.

"At the expiration of the term of three years above mentioned His Britannic Majesty's Government will, if necessary, consult with the Russian Government as to the desirability of any ulterior measures with regard to scientific expeditions to Thibet."

I avail, etc.,  
(Signed) A. NICOLSON.

*Inclosure 3 in No. 2.*

M. ISWOLSKY TO SIR A. NICOLSON.

ST. PETERSBURG,  
August 18 (31), 1907.

M. L'AMBASSADEUR,

In reply to your Excellency's note of even date, I have the honour to declare that the Imperial Russian

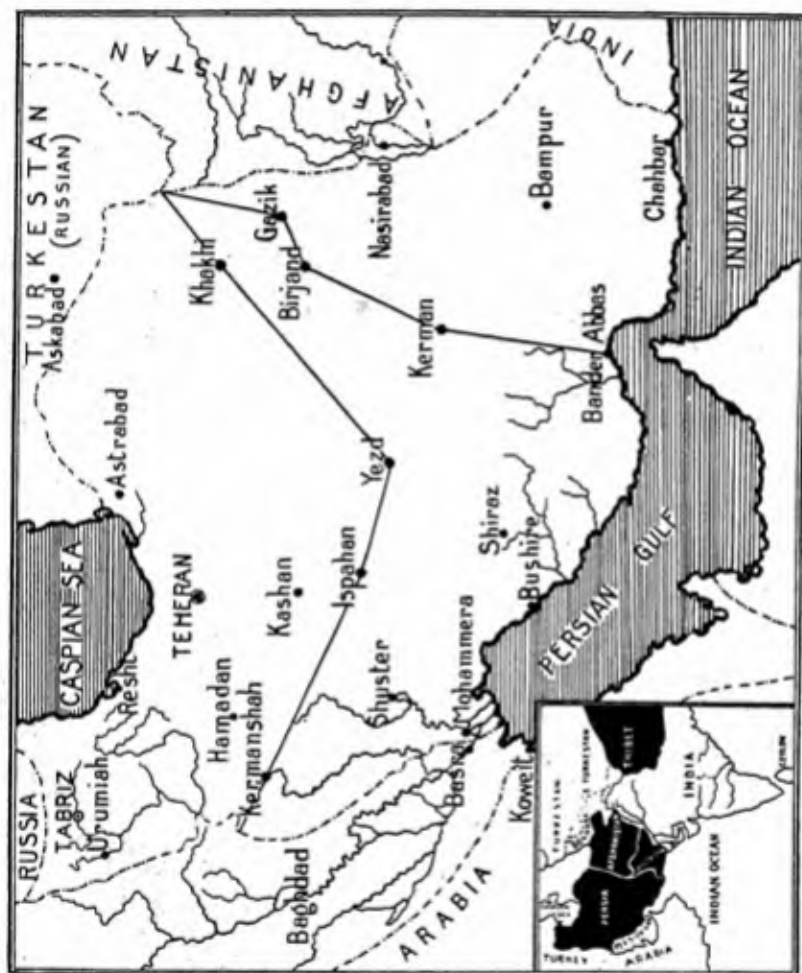
Government think it desirable, so far as they are concerned, not to allow, unless by a previous agreement with the British Government, for a period of three years from the date of the present communication, the entry into Thibet of any scientific mission whatever.

Like the British Government, the Imperial Government propose to approach the Chinese Government with a view to induce them to accept a similar obligation for a corresponding period.

It is understood that at the expiration of the term of three years the two Governments will, if necessary, consult with each other as to the desirability of any ulterior measures with regard to scientific expeditions to Thibet.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) ISWOLSKY.



(By the courtesy of the *Reviews of Reviews*.)

MAP SHOWING THE EFFECT OF THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT.

The Russian sphere of influence lies to the north of the line Khakh, Yezd, Isfahan, Kermanshah; the British sphere of influence to the south-east of the line Gazik, Kerman, Bander Abbas. According to Colonel C. E. Yate's article, the boundary-line of the British sphere should run due east from Gazik to the Afghan frontier, and not north to Zulfiqar, as shown above.





## THE NEW SWADESHI: SHALL IT BE THE TRUE SWADESHI?

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE events of the past few weeks have added enormously to the moral weight of the Swadeshi movement in every province of India. I believe that most of those who have any first-hand knowledge of the motives and hopes of the educated leaders of Indian public opinion, and are familiar with the political conditions in India, will now agree with me that Swadeshi, in one form or another, is certain to become sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—the dominant factor in Indian industrial and commercial life. It may be in the narrow, pernicious form of the social and religious “boycott” of all imported goods, British as well as foreign; and this is the form which I believe the Swadeshi movement will take—a form that will spell ruin and starvation for Lancashire and all our other manufacturing districts, in spite of their momentarily booming trade—if we persist in strangling Indian industries by our bigoted Cobdenite fiscal policy. Or it may be—I believe with the joyful assent of all that is best in India—in the broad patriotic form of Imperial Swadeshi, a form that will establish fiscal solidarity between India and the United Kingdom, the abolition of all custom-house barriers between the sister nations, and the frank recognition of the brotherhood of Britons and Indians.

The recent events to which I refer are, of course, those which have marked the triumph of the loyal or “Moderate” section of the Indian Nationalists connected with the National Congress movement, and the collapse and effacement of that silly madcap section of “Extremists,” whose folly and brag have done so much to discredit the Nationalist cause in India. I think that every true patriot and every well-wisher of India will hail with great satisfaction the

election of the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, C.I.E., to the Presidential chair of this year's Congress, as well as the significant transfer of its venue from the somewhat heated political air of Nagpur to the calmer commercial atmosphere of Surat. This is stated, apparently with good reason, to indicate that the innate good sense of the leaders of Indian public opinion has induced them to abandon the "Swaraj" policy and its doubtful loyalty, and to concentrate their Nationalist efforts on "Swadeshi." As a Calcutta telegram puts it : "The general opinion is that the 'unrest' will be succeeded by a period of industrial activity, the promotion of which the Moderates, who now control the Indian National Congress, put in the forefront of their programme."

Here, then, I venture once more to point out to Lancashire, and to our British manufacturing communities generally, we have definitely arrived at "the parting of the ways" in regard to the trade between Great Britain and India. For the moment, the men who would degrade the reasonable and patriotic sentiment of Swadeshi into a weapon of offence against England and Scotland are discredited. Men like the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh do not desire to injure Britain or British trade; but they are resolutely determined that Indian effort shall be devoted—by the aid of a tariff if possible, but, if not, then by the aid of national sentiment working with a social and religious sanction—to the resuscitation of ancient Indian industries and the building up of new ones. It is my heartfelt belief, founded on long years of patient study of this question, that if we Britons can show as much good sense in dealing with the problem from our side as Dr. Ghosh and his friends have shown in dealing with it from their side; if we will consent to put aside our Cobdenite fanaticism *pro hac vice*, and recognize Swadeshi as the wise and legitimate application of that modern spirit of Nationalism in the organization of industry and commerce that has inspired every civilized community in the world except our own,

from the days of Alexander Hamilton, and subsequently of Friedrich List, down to those of McKinley and Bismarck—then a vast Free Trade combination between the United Kingdom and India could easily be arranged, that would render both countries for ever secure against industrial attack.

For it was the newly elected President of the National Congress, Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, who last year at Calcutta, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, used these remarkable words: "What reasonable man can doubt that the real strength of the Swadeshi movement is to be found in our natural desire to nurse our own industries, which the Government of India, with their Free Trade notions, are unable to protect by building up a Tariff wall?" And he went on to say: "It does not, I repeat, mean hostility to anything and everything that is British, but merely the awakening of an industrial life." And in another place he said: "The Swadeshi movement has been the principal motive power in the industrial development of the country." And he aptly added: "Competition with Manchester is not yet treason in the Indian Statute-book"; and again: "We love England, with all her faults, but we love India more. If this is disloyalty, we are, I am proud to say, disloyal; but is there a single Englishman who really thinks in his heart that the material progress of the country will loosen the ties which bind us to England?"

I maintain that these are the sentiments of the truest Imperialism. Mr. Deakin used precisely similar language of Australia: "We love the Motherland, we love the sister-lands, most of all we love Australia;" and he wished to see them all, and India too, bound together by ties of mutual interest and affection.

And let me illustrate Dr. Ghosh's words by reference to the words of one of the most far-seeing and most sympathetic Finance Ministers that India has ever had, Sir Edward Law, the author of the famous *Minute* on which Lord Curzon's Government founded their Despatch on Preferential

Tariffs. Sir Edward Law, more, perhaps, than any other Indian Finance Minister, has always regarded Indian finance from the purely Indian point of view, with no side glance at party politics in the House of Commons at Westminster. Writing in the *Manchester Courier* on August 15, 1907, Sir Edward referred to the undoubted fact that the fiscal policy which we have forced upon India rendered her defenceless against what the Gaekwar of Baroda called "the industrial inroads" of the Protectionist countries of Europe and America ; and he continued :

"The result of such conditions is highly prejudicial to the development of Indian industry, though quite profitable to the importers of India's raw produce. It is not in the interest of protective countries that Indian manufacturing industry should develop ; it suits such countries much better to confine the population of India to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water to the manufacturers abroad. It seems to me imperative that serious efforts should be made to change this situation in the interest of nascent Indian industries, which, with fair opportunity, are susceptible of immense development, to the great advantage of the Indian peoples.

"My conclusion is that India urgently requires a free hand for the protection of existing export trade by tariff reprisals whenever that trade may be assailed by the hostile fiscal policy of other countries. Also that, while there would be little immediate direct gain in participating in a policy of Imperial Preference, the essential, legitimate development of Indian manufacturing industries could best be attained by participation in an Imperial system of Preferential tariffs."

Place the words of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh side by side with those of Sir Edward Law, and I think you will see that the views of these two Indian patriots are by no means widely divergent as to the policy that would make for the



moral and material progress of India. I hope and believe that the Indian people will follow the teaching of Dr. Ghosh, especially when he emphatically declares that the Swadeshi which he advocates certainly does not mean "hostility to anything and everything that is British, but merely the awakening of an industrial life." And as that is exactly what is also advocated by the Indian ex-Minister of Finance, Sir Edward Law, when he asks for Tariff Reform and Preference for India, is it too much to hope that the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and the British House of Commons by whom they are both ruled, will listen to these two voices of warning, one Indian and one British, and each of the very highest authority in its own sphere?

The *Englishman* of Calcutta—the great Metropolitan daily that holds in India much the same independent and authoritative position as that held by the *Times* in England, and speaking alike for the European and for the higher classes of the Indian community—writing on November 12, heads a forcible article on this topic with the significant words, "The Great Opportunity." It says of this great opportunity that it is—

"Full of rich promise. It may be that it will mark the beginning of an absolutely new era in the history of India. We pointed out the other day how political excitement had engendered a spirit of social reform which might overthrow the props of caste and superstition. It has also engendered a spirit of industrial and business activity which might in the end place India in the very forefront of the manufacturing countries of the world. Nature has provided this country with everything that the United Kingdom, or the United States, Germany, or Japan, has got. We have iron and coal in abundance, and water-power as much as is needed; and what is more, India possesses in its vast population the raw material without which no wealth can exist. Three hundred millions! What

would not Australia give for such a population, or the United States ?

\* \* \* \*

"It was known on Monday all through Calcutta that the Congress Standing Committee had outwitted the Extremists by deciding to hold the ensuing sessions, not at Nagpur, but at Surat. In a word, the Moderates have come to their own with an almost dramatic suddenness. We do not see eye to eye with the Indian National Congress, but the time has gone since the Congress could be regarded as an enemy of all European interests in this country. The Moderate party in it does represent much that is natural, even wholesome, in the aspirations of the educated class of Indians. The opportunity, therefore, has come to the Moderates. If there are any men among them with real ability and determination and power to lead, there lies open to them such chances as are afforded only once or twice in the history of a nation. The time is ripe for a social and industrial revolution of an extraordinary kind, and on an extraordinary scale. But there must be an end to the racial feud—and the boycott. The boycott does not help Swadeshi. The real Swadeshi—that is, the encouragement of industry and manufacture—has the sympathy of every right-thinking European in India, and of the Government."

Now, if these words adequately describe the situation—and I think those who best know India will agree that they do—they mean that the whole of the predominant loyal element of the Indian Nationalists are at one with the Anglo-Indians, and with the local authorities of the Government, in demanding a form of Swadeshi that will foster and protect nascent Indian industries, without "hostility to anything and everything British."

Now, will any honest and intelligent politician and economist—I care not whether he be Radical or Conserva-

tive, provided only he be honest and intelligent—maintain that this universal and unanimous demand can be met under the existing Cobdenite fiscal system, that has been denounced and repudiated by every Indian authority of repute? Elsewhere I have quoted the strong opinions on this subject of such recognized authorities as the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohan Tagore, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E. (the ex-Bengal Commissioner, Revenue Minister of Baroda, and recently appointed by Mr. Morley to the important Royal Commission on Decentralization), Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, C.I.E. (the newly elected President of the National Congress), Sir Phirozshah Mehta, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Subramani Iyer (late editor of the *Hindu*), and every other known political writer or speaker of Indian birth. Throughout India, they all, without a single exception, denounce the Cobdenite fiscal policy we have forced on them as the cause of the industrial ruin of their country.

A respected and powerful Lancashire organ of public opinion, the *Manchester Guardian*, given over to the worship of Cobdenism, has endeavoured to hypnotize its Lancashire readers, in face of this tremendous peril to the future of the Lancashire industry, by assuring them, in its issue of April 13, 1907, that the Indians who favour Swadeshi are only "certain Indian Nationalists, having in their minds some resentment for the maltreatment of the native manufacturer under early British Protectionism, and possibly misled by the 'infant industry' argument." But the *Manchester Guardian* can hardly get over the fact that there is a great Indian Parliamentary Committee, headed by such well-known Liberal M.P.'s and ex-M.P.'s as Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Charles Schwann, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and some 200 others, who are pledged to support the Swadeshi policy of the Indian Congress. At the meeting of the East India Association on May 5 last, and subsequently in the July number of this *Review*, I have publicly challenged these well-known

Liberal politicians to write to the *Manchester Guardian* and state publicly whether they agree with the *Guardian's* view of Indian Swadeshi, that it is not seriously dangerous to the trade of Lancashire if its lives and expands on its present lines. As any such statement would *ipso facto* cut them off from communion with the Indian National Congress, I need hardly say that neither Sir Henry Cotton nor any other member of the Committee has shown any eagerness to enlighten the readers of the *Manchester Guardian* as to whether "Free Trade" or Swadeshi is likely to prove the more powerful policy in India.

It should not be forgotten that the Cobdenite policy, which is so loathed and execrated by every Indian, has only been forced on India at the point of the bayonet within living memory—and mainly by the strong will and persistent genius of the greatest of living Cobdenites, Major Evelyn Baring, now Earl of Cromer.

When I first landed in India, in 1868, we rejoiced in a stiff General Tariff, averaging from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, with a much higher rate on some commodities for which we needed protection. In 1875, Major Baring, when Private Secretary to Lord Northbrook, obtained the reduction of the Tariff to an average of 5 per cent. In 1877 the famous Lancashire Resolution—condemning the Indian cotton duties as "protective in their nature and contrary to sound commercial policy"—was passed in the House of Commons, and put into force by Lord Lytton in the following year. But it was left to Lord Cromer in 1882 to destroy the last defences of Indian industries. In the opinion of very many, this policy—especially when emphasized by Lord Elgin in 1894 by the imposition of excise duties on the produce of Indian cotton mills to countervail some reimposed customs' duties—has more to do with the recent "unrest" than anything else, except, perhaps, the Partition of Bengal.

While I deplore the results of Lord Cromer's fiscal policy in India, as fatal to Indian contentment with the

British rule, I need not say that I wish to speak of that most illustrious Proconsul in terms of the deepest respect and veneration. In common with every other British Imperialist—I might almost say, every other British patriot—I look upon Lord Cromer's services to the Empire in Egypt as absolutely priceless. But in Egypt, where our position is that of the "European international policeman," the Cobdenite policy of "the open door" is not merely advisable: it is for us simply a physical necessity. And, consequently, Lord Cromer's stalwart Radicalism in fiscal matters has counted to him for righteousness in Egypt, although in India it had injured the popularity of the British *rāj*, and had seriously dimmed our reputation for disinterested administration, under the not unreasonable (though, in Lord Cromer's case, quite unfounded) suspicion that our ardour for "Free Trade" was only a cloak for selfish motives.

It should not be forgotten that, when we impose on India at large the detested policy which is nicknamed "Free Trade," but which actually amounts to a preference for bounty-fed or protected foreign imports, we really coerce the great Feudatory States to accept that policy against their will, owing to the fact that as a rule they are shut in within an enclave of British territory. The highly up-to-date administration of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has shown very decisively its distrust of the economic doctrines of *laissez faire* that are so dear to the Cobden Club. The address of Mr. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., the accomplished Dewan of Mysore, to the Representative Assembly of that State in October last demonstrated in how many different ways the Government is at this moment actively aiding the development of local industries and opening up the material resources of the State. And yet the Mysore Government, by reason of its geographical position, was unable to prevent its sugar industry being crushed, and large blocks of Mysore sugar-cane land being driven out of cultivation, whilst we allowed the bounty-fed



sugars of Germany and Austria to be brought, in foreign subsidized ships, to our British-Indian ports free of duty.

So, too, with the great feudatory State of Baroda—a principality larger than the kingdom of Saxony, and more populous than the kingdom of Greece. The striking words in which His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda condemned the policy of free imports for India, when delivering the inaugural address at the opening of the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition of 1903, have often been quoted, for they put in a nutshell the unanimous and loudly expressed thought of every politician and economist of Indian birth. His Highness said :

“It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands ; but this cheapness is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status, and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat. National defence against alien industrial inroads is more important than the cheapness of a few articles.”

Mr. Subramani Iyer, formerly editor of the *Hindu*, and one of the most prominent members of the National Congress, speaking of those Englishmen who asserted that India had prospered under Free Trade, declared “she has not prospered, but can only prosper under a system of Protection.” The well-known Mr. Surendranath Banerjee declared, to the Congress Standing Committee, of Swadeshi that “it is the rallying cry of all India.” Mr. Gokhale, Sir Phirozshah Mehta, and all the other Indian leaders, say the same thing.

Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., ex-Commissioner in Bengal, and the Revenue Minister of the Gaekwar, said :

“There is a movement which is growing and spreading day by day over the whole continent of India, which the nation has begun earnestly, and which the nation will not let die. The Swadeshi movement is

an industrial revolution, more far-reaching in its effects than many political revolutions; and history will record in future ages how the people of India, in the commencement of the twentieth century, effected their own industrial salvation. *Without any control over our own tariff* or financial arrangements . . . we have determined, simply by giving preference to our home manufactures, to revive the industrial activity of this vast country, and to improve the condition of our industrial population."

These are the sentiments of literally every Indian authority, from the prince down to the peasant, and can any broad-minded Briton, whether Liberal or Conservative, blame them?

And yet the attitude of the present Government, and, indeed, of the Liberal party at large, towards this greatest of all Indian problems is simply unintelligible, for they speak with two absolutely discrepant voices.

On the one hand, the Right Hon. J. E. Ellis, M.P., until recently the Under-Secretary of State for India in the Liberal Government, speaking at West Bridgford on November 28 to the League of Young Liberals, declared that "the vital interests of that vast population were bound up in the maintenance of Free Trade." And Lord Reay and Sir James Mackay, when speaking officially for the Government at the Imperial Conference, have said the same thing with even greater emphasis, and it is echoed by the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily Chronicle*, and all the other great organs of Liberal opinion.

On the other hand, the same Liberal authorities are never weary of telling us that India should be governed in accordance with Indian sentiment. And not one of them has ever attempted to deny—the attempt would be ridiculous—that if India were self-governed to-morrow, the very first measure of its Government would be to establish Swadeshi, a rigorously protective fiscal system.

For instance, at this moment the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Chronicle*, Mr. Nevinson, a journalist of ability and repute, is writing for those great journals a series of letters from the various Indian centres, and his showing goes absolutely to confirm Mr. Dutt's statement of the immense and progressive hold that Swadeshi has taken of the mind of the Indian public. Mr. Nevinson tells us of the Protectionist propaganda carried on by such leaders as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. Bepin Chunder Pal, Mr. Tilak, and others.

Liberal M.P.'s.—even those who are members for manufacturing constituencies, like Sir Charles Schwann, M.P. for North Manchester, and Sir Henry Cotton, M.P. for East Nottingham—forming the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, support the Congress in its demand for Swadeshi ; while such a prominent member of the Council of the Cobden Club, as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in his presidential address last year, declared that Swadeshi is an economic necessity for India. Sir Henry Cotton, addressing the Oxford University India Society on November 22, stated authoritatively that “a common manifestation of the growing feeling in favour of a common nationality was . . . on the economic side the Swadeshi movement for the encouragement of indigenous industries.” And Sir Henry Cotton, in his “New India,” says : “I have no doubt whatever that the people of India are in earnest in this movement, and will do their utmost to maintain it. Although its effect on the Manchester market has proved to be comparatively slight at present, *there is more in the agitation than the Manchester merchants are willing to admit.*”

The italics are mine. And to justify the Liberal Party in this view, Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, speaking to the Indian Famine Union on November 25, said : “Four-fifths of the people are dependent on agriculture, since all their manufactures had been crushed for the sake of Great Britain. . . . It was for the English to do their duty to

India by . . . allowing them to build up their own manufactures."

Now, that being so, let me quote a few sentences from one of the interesting letters of Mr. Nevinson to the *Manchester Guardian* — the very journal that derides Swadeshi as incapable of doing serious harm to the Lancashire industry, though that industry is admittedly dependent for its prosperity on the Indian market. Mr. Nevinson writes :

"In hopes of saving the industries and the industrial workers the Swadeshi movement was started. It was a kind of voluntary Protection. Its early advocates said, 'Other things being equal, buy the products of your own country for choice.' The more patriotic went on to say, 'Even if the stuffs are not quite so good or quite so cheap, buy them, so that our country may continue to exist. . . .' 'The only way,' said the Extremists, 'to call attention to our wrongs is to threaten the British manufacturer with ruin by refusing to touch the stuff he send us.' How far the boycott has really gone I shall be better able to say when I have lived a time in Bengal, where alone it is really strong. But here in Bombay the old Swadeshi movement and its extreme form of boycott between them have raised the demand for Indian cottons to such an extent that the 80 or 90 mills in the city and the 300 more in the Presidency simply cannot supply it, going as hard as they may. Nearly all this extra demand comes from Calcutta, where, as I said, the movements are strongest. The growing demand from Burma is not political at all, and in Bombay itself, though the people prefer Swadeshi things, apparently they will not sacrifice much to patriotism. It is true that in the principal street here a Swadeshi co-operative store has lately been opened, and is doing rather well in biscuits, toys, statues, soaps, and all the other things one generally

gets at co-operative stores, besides woollens, silks, and cottons, in which it has a very large trade. But Bengal now insists that all cottons sent out for its long saris, or women's garments, and dhooties, or men's loincloths, should be stamped with the Swadeshi mark in Hindustani as well as the familiar British mark, 'Made in Bombay.' As I said, the supply cannot keep pace with what Bengal wants, and Bengal will have no other. The most significant thing is that the Bengalis will pay a little more for a rather inferior stuff if it is genuine Swadeshi. The Bombay mill-owners have certain disadvantages. The Surat cotton grows almost at the door, but it is not first-rate, and the best has to be brought from Egypt. The whole of the machinery has to be imported from England, Germany, or America, and the price of land is high. On the other hand, the low wages of Bombay mill-hands have long attracted the attention of competing British manufacturers. I have lately spent many sweating hours in the fluffy atmosphere of the mills, where there are no fans to disturb the dust, the heat, or the smell. Little boys and girls, who are legally over nine years old, but are often less, were doing half-time, or six hours, at 2½d. a day (4 rupees a month). Over fourteen, boys and girls were working the full time of thirteen hours, with half an hour's rest, for 8 rupees a month (a fraction under 6d. a day). The highest woman's wage is 10 rupees a month (a fraction under 7d. a day), and the average for a man is 18 rupees a month."

Here, then, in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, the very sanctuary of Cobdenism, we see what is coming to our British trade with India, if, lulled by the chanting of "Free Trade" dervishes, we make no attempt to meet the legitimate aspirations of our Indian fellow-subjects.

At this moment of the birth of the New Swadeshi in India—as described by this year's President of the National



Congress, not unfriendly to England, but primarily friendly to India—we have to choose whether it shall be the true Swadeshi, embracing the United Kingdom and India in one great friendly fiscal unit, or official "Free Trade" with the universal boycott, under religious and social sanctions of all British as well as foreign manufactures. Cobdenites are afraid that the foreigner might resent our drawing closer the commercial ties that bind us to our greatest dependency. But I trust that the British electorate will take the view that the matter is one that concerns Britons and Indians alone. While the best authorities, like Sir Edward Law and Sir Charles Elliott, have shown us conclusively that the True Swadeshi—that is, Imperial Preference—will neither injure nor offend anyone.

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## THE PROPOSAL TO SEPARATE JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS IN INDIA.

BY S. M. MITRA.

IT is to be regretted that Lord Curzon did not, during his strenuous Viceroyalty, dispose of the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions in India—a subject well worthy of his attention, on which he could have written with force and conviction. He alluded, in his Fifth Budget speech of March 25, 1903, to the mass of reports and papers on the subject before him, and said that he would like the question to be taken up and dealt with in his time. But it was left untouched, owing to his retirement from India before the end of his second term of office. It may be expected that a clear pronouncement on the whole matter will soon be forthcoming from the Government of India. Meanwhile, the present state of parts of India necessitates a consideration of the subject, for in it is involved nothing less than the maintenance of the power of the Executive Government. That power is menaced when the ordinary and punitive police are attacked by mobs, no arrests are made, and no evidence is available. A recent writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for October says: "The separation of judicial and executive functions, which is strongly advocated by the Congress, means depriving the heads of Districts and their coadjutors of their magisterial authority, and thus weakening their power of dealing with crime and disorder. Recent events in Bengal, Eastern Bengal, Assam, and the Punjab have shown how dangerous to the public peace such a step would be."

Like every Indian matter, this question has a long history, which could easily be reproduced. But this paper would be extended to a tiresome length if I were to dwell upon the

different occasions on which it has been under discussion, the names of the distinguished persons who have handled it, the various phases through which it has passed. It is sufficient to state here two results of the controversy up to date: *first*, the original stigma which attached to the union of the functions, namely, "that it was most difficult, if not impossible, for the same man first to catch the thief, and then to try him impartially," has, from its epigrammatic picturesqueness, become a catch-word, hard to meet; *second*, the decision to leave with District Officers the administration of the minor branch of criminal justice, including the control of the District Police, combined with executive functions, was embodied in the Police Act of 1861, and has formed a main principle of the successive Codes of Criminal Procedure in India.

In these days of development and change, the question (that is, of the union or separation of judicial and executive functions in India) would assuredly, somehow or other, have come to the front again, but its revival has undoubtedly been accelerated by the formation, in 1885, of the Indian National Congress, which has made the abolition of the existing system the subject of one of its annual Resolutions, passed, of course, unanimously at each meeting. In 1896, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, a Bengali barrister of considerable reputation, compiled a Memorandum of twenty cases, which purported to illustrate the evils of the existing system. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1896, Sir Charles Elliott, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, defended the existing system, and examined the relevance and weight of the cases abovementioned. Later, the agitation against the existing system has culminated in a "Memorial on the proposed separation of the judicial and executive duties in India," signed by ten gentlemen (chiefly high judicial authorities), and laid, by the "Indian Parliamentary Committee," before the Secretary of State for India in July, 1899. Thereupon Lord George Hamilton forwarded the papers to the Governor-General of India,

and asked for his conclusions in regard to the Memorial. It is the Government of India's answer to this reference which is still awaited, as Lord Curzon left it untouched. Inquiries have been made about it from time to time, but no real information has been elicited.

The subject is so large that considerable condensation is required to bring it within manageable limits. I desire to grapple as closely as possible with the question as stated by the memorialists abovementioned, who may be presumed to have put their case as forcibly as it can be put. I propose, therefore, to treat it in the following manner: *firstly*, the main issues raised; *secondly*, the existing system; *thirdly*, the objections to the existing system; *fourthly*, the defence of the existing system.

The two main issues that stand out for decision are: (1) how far the combination of executive and judicial functions in the same person actually leads to abuse; whether there is any practical evil to be remedied, and, if so, of what nature and degree; (2) whether there are any, and, if so, what considerations on the other side which must be set off against such abuses as may have occurred, and which tell in favour of retaining the present system; and on which side the balance of advantage lies.

Such issues have, of course, to be considered with reference to conditions as they exist in India, rather than to any abstract principles, or to the practice in other parts of the world. Moreover, the whole matter has to be examined on the broad ground of general administrative expediency—in other words, of Indian statesmanship, or the Government of the country.

Anyone who has been in India must be more or less acquainted with the system of administration there in force; but for readers in England it is necessary to describe, at least in outline, the system as it obtains in British India at the present day.

Each Province (under a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner) is divided into a number of Districts

The number of Districts in all India is, I believe, 249.\* They vary greatly in area and population. In Bengal, for instance, in 1901—before it was partitioned—there were 47 districts of British territory (exclusive of the 20 square miles of Calcutta), covering an area of 151,165 square miles, and containing a population of 73,897,070 persons. Thus the average area of a District was more than 3,200 square miles, and the average population exceeded 1,500,000 persons. The smallest area was the Howrah District, 510 square miles; the largest was that of Ranchi, 7,128 square miles. The Chittagong Hill Tracts had a population of only 124,762 persons, whereas in Mymensingh there were 3,915,068. The Districts remain the same in size, although some of them have been transferred to Eastern Bengal and Assam. The size of a "District" in England for any fiscal or administrative purpose conveys no idea of the size or importance of a District of an Indian Province, or of the complicated problems due to race, religion, and past history. The District in India is the unit of administration; it is under the District Officer, who is the District Magistrate, whether he be also called the Magistrate - Collector, or Deputy - Commissioner. His position corresponds more nearly to that of the French *préfet* than to that of any English functionary. The District Magistrate is, or may be, according to the volume of the work of the District, assisted by a Joint-Magistrate and Assistant-Magistrates; he has also under his general orders several Deputy-Magistrates. All these subordinate officers are Magistrates of the first, second or third class, and are vested by Government with powers graduated according to those classes. Where there are Subdivisions of a District some of these subordinate Magistrates are stationed in each Subdivision. The District Magistrates themselves try very few cases: serious cases are committed by the District Magistrate and first-class Magistrates to the Court of Session (the District Judge) for trial. Appeals

\* "The Government of India," by Sir C. Ilbert, second edition, p. 135.



from Magistrates of the first-class and from the District Magistrate lie to the District Judge; appeals from the other subordinate Magistrates lie to the District Magistrate, or to any first-class Magistrate appointed to hear the appeals. The District Magistrate has to inspect the records and registers of the cases tried in the Courts of all the Magistrates subordinate to him. Also, he is entirely responsible for the peace and criminal administration of his District; he has the general control and direction of the police (by this supervision exercising the most certain and effectual check upon abuse of authority by the subordinate police); under him the administration of the police throughout the District is vested in the District Superintendent of Police, who is the District Magistrate's assistant for police duties, and as such is bound to carry out his orders. Though in other respects he is the head of the police, the District Magistrate has no authority to interfere in the internal organization and discipline of the Police Force. The District Superintendent (whose departmental chief is the Inspector-General of Police of the Province) is independent of the District Magistrate only as far as regards the internal economy of the force and everything of a purely departmental nature; but even in such matters he is expected to give due regard to his wishes and suggestions.

The District Magistrate hears the special police reports only in serious cases during the course of an investigation. He has also certain "preventive" powers which he may exercise, in virtue of his office, as responsible for the peace of his District.

The District Officer, as Collector of the Revenue, and as Chief Executive Officer, has multifarious duties which occupy the greater part of his time. He is the local representative of the Government; to him the Government turns for information upon the economical, social, and sanitary conditions of his District. "Every single thing which either European intelligence or Native opinion

can demand of a Government, that he is expected to supply."

The District Sessions Judges try all the more serious criminal cases. Above the District Sessions Judges the High Courts have appellate powers, and powers of interference and revision over the judicial proceedings of all District Magistrates and other Magistrates. The Executive Government cannot interfere with the judicial proceedings of the District Magistrates, and can only appeal to the High Courts against acquittals by any other Court.

Finally, the whole of the Criminal Law and Procedure is clearly set out in Codes, accessible to everybody.

Codification\* means the reduction to a definite written form of law which had previously been unwritten, or written only in an unauthoritative form, such as that of text-books and reported cases; while the kindred process of consolidation means the reduction to a single Act of all the written law upon any given subject. The Indian Penal Code, drafted originally by Lord Macaulay, though not passed into law until 1860, contains substantially the whole Criminal Law as amended from time to time by the Legislature. The Code of Criminal Procedure contains the whole of the law relating to the constitution of the Criminal Courts in their various degrees, the functions of the different classes of Magistrates, the apprehension of suspected persons, the collection of evidence of their offence, their committal for trial, the preparation of the charge, the law relating to juries, the conduct of the trial, the infliction of punishment, the prevention of crime by binding over persons to keep the peace, by the suppression of riots, by enabling provisional orders to be made as to the possession of land, and by various other means. The *Dandabidhi* and the *Karjyabidhi* are, like their equivalents in the other vernaculars of the country, household words in Bengal.

Without anticipating what will be said later, it may here

\* "The Life of Lord Mayo," by Sir W. W. Hunter, chap. viii. (by Sir Fitz-James Stephen).

be stated that so great is the publicity of all the judicial work of the country that there is in British territory very little chance of an illegal or oppressive act escaping notice. Sooner or later such an act would be brought to notice by judicial procedure, or by petition to the executive authorities. Publicity is the best prophylactic against the abuse of power.

After this preliminary description, condensed as it is, of the existing system, the objections to it put forward by the memorialists (and generally by other objectors), as stated by themselves in a summarized form, may now be quoted and examined. These objections "are to the effect (1) that the combination of judicial with executive duties in the same officer violates the first principles of equity; (2) that, while a judicial officer ought to be thoroughly impartial and approach the consideration of any case without previous knowledge of the facts, an executive officer does not adequately discharge his duties unless his ears are open to all reports and information which he can in any degree employ for the benefit of his District; (3) that executive officers in India, being responsible for a large amount of miscellaneous business, have not time satisfactorily to dispose of judicial work in addition; (4) that, being keenly interested in carrying out particular measures, they are apt to be brought more or less into conflict with individuals, and, therefore, that it is inexpedient that they should also be invested with judicial powers; (5) that under the existing system Collector-Magistrates do, in fact, neglect judicial for executive work; (6) that appeals from revenue assessments are apt to be futile when they are heard by Revenue Officers; (7) that great inconvenience, expense, and suffering are imposed upon suitors required to follow the camp of a judicial officer who, in the discharge of executive duties, is making a tour of his District; and (8) that the existing system not only involves all whom it concerns in hardship and inconvenience, but also by associating the judicial tribunal with the work of the police and of detectives, and by diminishing the safe-

guards afforded by the rules of evidence, produces actual miscarriages of justice, and creates, although justice be done, opportunities of suspicion, distrust, and discontent which are greatly to be deplored."

The defence of the existing system (under which judicial and executive functions are united in the same person in India) does not admit of being reduced to a few striking sentences in the same manner as the objections just summarized. Even if it be admitted, for the sake of argument, that the existing system does not conform to pure theory—such as would satisfy jurists like Bentham or Austin—it may properly be contended that it answers all practical purposes, while it has certain administrative advantages, such as that it strengthens the position of the District Officer, which for the purposes of good government must be firmly established, and that under it an accused person in British territory can hardly be prejudiced or prevented from undergoing a fair trial. Whatever may have been the system in force fifty or a hundred years ago, which laid the administration of justice open to the epigrammatic objection abovequoted, the state of things has been greatly changed by amendments of the law, so that now (apart from the frailty always inherent in human agency) there is no reasonable fear of injustice being caused to any accused person by the constitution of the Court trying him. Some of the safeguards introduced by the changes in the law may be briefly mentioned. Under Section 526 of the Code (of Criminal Procedure) the High Court may transfer a case from any Criminal Court subordinate to it, whenever it is shown that a fair and impartial inquiry or trial cannot be had in that lower Court. Again, under Section 556, no Magistrate may try, or commit for trial, any case to or in which he is a party or "personally interested" (a term which has been liberally interpreted by the High Courts), and in certain cases a transfer for trial is obtainable and is, under Section 191, obligatory. The result is that practically a District Magistrate cannot use his judicial powers to try

or commit a case in which he has exhibited "personal interest" (as construed by the High Courts). The District Officer is subject to the restraints imposed by law upon his powers; his decisions are open to appeal, and may be set aside by motions to the High Court. The work of the subordinate Magistrates cannot be left uncontrolled by inspection, and the District Magistrate is the proper person to supervise them, which he can do, and does, without interfering with their judicial independence while cases are under trial in their Courts.

Having stated the objections and the defence generally, it remains now to take each of the objections—(1) to (8)—as formulated by the memorialists against the existing system, and to examine them fully *seriatim*.

(1) "*that the combination of judicial with executive duties in the same officer violates the first principles of equity.*"

No one disputes the proposition that it would be wrong—inequitable—for a District Magistrate to conduct all the proceedings (capture, investigation, etc.) preparatory to the trial of an offender, and then himself to try the accused in his own Court. The imputation is, of course, that under such a system the accused would be prejudiced and would not be fairly tried. But under the existing system, as described, offenders are, in fact and practice, not tried by the persons who bring them before the Courts, and various safeguards have been introduced into the law to ensure the fair treatment of the accused. Therefore the proposition, as stated, may be correct theoretically, but it has little relevance to the existing system. Let the judicial functions be first considered. In exceptional cases it is essential, in a country like India, that the District Magistrate should have the power of exercising his judicial functions, though they may ordinarily be dormant. For instance, European British subjects, when accused, should be tried or committed for trial to the superior Court by the District Magistrate. He would also be right in dealing judicially with cases in which local feeling between contending factions



runs high, and he would be considered by every one to be the proper officer to deal with them.

Again, the appeals in cases tried by the second and third-class Magistrates must be heard by somebody. If the District Magistrate did not hear them, they would have to be heard by the District Judge, who has, as it is, plenty of work of his own to do. Such (comparatively petty) appellate work is good training for the District Magistrate, and the High Court may be moved, if required, to set aside his decisions.

Again, the preventive sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure require the recording of evidence, and the District Magistrate, who is responsible for the peace of the district, is obviously the proper person to take such judicial proceedings, and any errors on his part can at once be brought to the notice of the higher authorities, judicial or executive.

The executive functions of a District Magistrate have also to be considered. The work of the subordinate Magistrates in a District requires constant inspection to secure the proper administration of justice. It must be distinctly understood that such inspection does not mean interference with cases under trial. Such interference would properly be regarded as unjustifiable, and would assuredly be reprobated by the Government: such inspection means the inspection of registers and records of cases previously decided, whether they ended in convictions or acquittals, and has for its objects the correction of errors, the prevention of delays, and the education of the Magistrates—all for the ultimate good of the people. It must be acknowledged that the subordinate Magistrates cannot yet be left free of all supervision, though they are, and must be, allowed to exercise their judicial functions independently. Such inspection out of Court is more properly exercised by the District Magistrate in his executive capacity than it would be by the District Judge, whose duty it is to deal independently, and without any possible imputation of partiality, with cases brought before him in Court.

In the several revisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure since 1861, which have had for their object the improvement of the administration of justice, the Indian Legislature has arrived at the existing system, and it may safely be asserted that the Legislature would not have sanctioned it if accused persons were thereby prejudiced. The safeguards (already mentioned) against the trial of an accused by a Magistrate personally interested in the case, and the powers vested in the High Court and inherent in the Executive Government are sufficient to secure the fairness of all trials.

(2) *"that while a Judicial Officer ought to be thoroughly impartial and approach the consideration of any case without previous knowledge of the facts, an Executive Officer does not adequately discharge his duties unless his ears are open to all reports and information which he can in any degree employ for the benefit of his District."*

Both the branches of this proposition may be admitted to be theoretically correct, but the truths contained in them, though intended to raise an antithesis and thereby condemn the existing system, convey an incorrect and incomplete idea of the whole position of the District Officer, as now established by law, and as it should be maintained. The District Magistrate, it must be repeated, himself tries an infinitesimally small number of cases. In such cases the law, as has already been stated, provides safeguards against any suspicion of partiality on his part. In these days of publicity it is hardly possible for any judicial officer not to have read or heard something of the facts of any notorious case, but an officer who has reached the position of District Magistrate is perfectly aware that in the trial of the few cases he may have to try he has to regard the evidence produced before him and nothing else; and he can be censured and corrected if he disregards this principle.

The police officers, not the District Magistrate, perform the work of investigating the crime of a District. The District Magistrate exercises only a general control and

supervision over their work. The police work must be controlled by some officer in authority. It is better that it should be controlled by the District Magistrate than by the Inspector-General of Police or his deputies, who take a departmental interest in supporting or shielding their subordinates, whereas it is the duty of the District Magistrate to do justice, and not to aim at a departmental triumph. In the majority of the cases sent up by the police for trial, the District Magistrate merely distributes them for trial to his subordinate Magistrates, and knows nothing whatever of the facts. The Criminal Courts are in no way under the control of the police. The police have to submit special reports on certain serious offences to the District Magistrate, and in such cases the latter, if he held the preliminary judicial inquiries, would commit them to the District Judge for trial; in such cases (as in the cases distributed to the subordinate Magistrates) the District Magistrate's control of the police would not affect the accused at his trial. There is no need to say anything here on the branch of the proposition regarding the duties of an Executive Officer.

(3) "*that Executive Officers in India, being responsible for a large amount of miscellaneous business, have not time satisfactorily to dispose of judicial work in addition.*"

The general argument against the existing system (the combination of judicial and executive functions) is forcible only if the District Magistrate does dispose of judicial work. This argument (3) is based on the supposition that the District Magistrate does not dispose of much judicial work. The opponents of the existing system cannot fairly rely upon both arguments. The answer to both has, however, practically been given already—namely, that the District Magistrate tries but very few cases. As District Officer he has so many duties—*e.g.*, Judicial, Police, Revenue, Miscellaneous Executive, Correspondence—that practically he has not the time to retain in his own hands the whole charge of any branch. He exercises general control over all, while in each branch the bulk of the work is performed

by his subordinates. Thus the subordinate Magistrates try, or commit for trial, nearly all the criminal cases; the District Superintendent of Police looks after the investigation and detection of crime; a subordinate Officer has primary charge of each branch of work—*e.g.*, Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, Municipal, etc.; the clerical establishment prepare the main portion of the correspondence. A District Officer can only keep a few very important items of work entirely to himself. The principle of District Administration is that the District Officer is responsible for all branches of work under him, but has many hands to help him. The concentration of authority in the District Officer is the keynote of the British system of Government in India, and while it is the most effective it is the most economical plan that could be adopted. Thus it is not intended that the District Magistrate should himself dispose of much judicial work. The essential point is that he should possess the judicial powers, to be exercised in particular cases, when required for some special reason.

(4) "*that, being keenly interested in carrying out particular measures, they are apt to be brought more or less into conflict with individuals, and therefore that it is inexpedient that they should also be invested with judicial powers.*"

This argument is so expressed that it has a plausible appearance, but it will not stand careful examination. The meaning is apparently that because District Officers are "keenly interested" in carrying out certain (executive) measures—in the course of which they may be brought into collision with individuals—they, the District Officers, should not be invested with judicial powers (under the Code). In other words, it is argued that, because a District Officer may be energetic in his executive capacity, he should not have judicial powers. It might more reasonably have been argued that, because an Executive Officer may have *trop de zèle*, he should therefore be vested with judicial powers to steady him. There is no influence so steadying as the exercise of judicial powers. The fallacy of the argument



consists in supposing that the District Officer can be acting both executively and judicially at the same time. When acting executively it is his duty to carry out the executive measures—enjoined by Government or originated by himself—in accordance with the law applicable to the measure ; when acting judicially (trying cases or committing them for trial, hearing minor appeals, issuing preventive orders), he must be guided by the Criminal Law. In neither case can District Officers transgress the law with impunity. In executive matters the keen interest of the District Officer may very properly be enlisted, to ensure success ; in judicial matters, it has already been explained that “personal interest” is a ground on which a Magistrate can be prevented by legal steps from trying a case or committing it for trial. Practically, there is no reason why one officer should not successively exercise both executive and judicial powers ; and any abuse of their combination in a District Officer would soon come to light and bring down punishment upon him.

(5) “*that under the existing system Collector-Magistrates do in fact neglect judicial for executive work.*”

This can only be answered by repeating in substance what has already been stated. District Officers are not required or expected themselves to do much judicial work. Almost the whole of the judicial work of the District is performed by the subordinate Magistracy and the District Sessions Judge. The District Officer, for reasons already given, has the general supervision of the Magistracy and the police ; he only occasionally tries cases or commits them for trial, and only those of a special character. Such little judicial work as he does perform he may be presumed to do well. A Judicial Officer wilfully exceeding his powers, or acting illegally, is liable to be sued for damages by the person aggrieved.

All District Officers are not men of the highest capacity, but they are all men of ability above the average, or they would not be occupying the positions they hold ; and neglect



of any portion of their duties is about the last charge that can properly be laid against them.

(6) "*that appeals from Revenue assessments are apt to be futile when they are heard by Revenue Officers.*"

If this argument has any meaning, it is based on the assumption that every Revenue appeal deserves to be successful. The contrary is, in fact, the truth. Revenue of any kind is not "assessed" except under some law, and the presumption must be that it is legally assessed; for, if it were not so, it would be open to the assessee to move the Civil Courts to set aside the assessment. Every English reader must know what a "Civil action" is. As in England, the County Court Judges and the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature try "Civil actions," so in India the Munsiffs, Subordinate Judges, District Civil Judges, High Court Judges (on the Civil side), try similar actions: the lower Courts having limited powers, the higher Courts having larger and appellate powers. Government and its officers can be sued as defendants in these courts in a case of alleged illegality, and the case is judicially tried.

The collection of the Government Revenue requires the experience of a Revenue Officer; it is not work that falls within the province of Judicial Officers, though in the last resort a Civil Court can try the legality of a Revenue assessment, as well as any other Civil action. Every Government, I believe, collects its dues (its "assessed revenue") through its own officers, and hears the appeals of revenue-payers in its own offices—such as the Treasury, Somerset House, or the Custom House—while the Civil Courts are open, as said above, for the correction of illegal assessments. The Revenue Officer himself has much more to gain by acquiring a reputation for doing justice than by enforcing in a grasping spirit the Revenue demands, which will go to the Government Treasury, not to his own pocket. At any rate, the records of the Revenue Offices would show how constantly Revenue appeals are decided in favour of appellants against assessments. If independent Revenue

tribunals were set up, the cost of the administration would be enormously increased ; but, having regard to the safeguards already existing against injustice in the collection of the Revenue, they are not required. It is noteworthy that, in a scheme put forward by an opponent of the existing system, it was proposed to unite the Revenue powers of the District Officer with his police powers, and no objection was made in that scheme to Revenue Officers hearing Revenue appeals.

(7) *"that great inconvenience, expense, and suffering are imposed upon suitors required to follow the camp of a Judicial Officer who, in the discharge of his executive duties, is making a tour of his District."*

Suitor is properly the term applicable, to a plaintiff in a Civil Court, and in India the Civil Courts are stationary, not peripatetic. The misuse of the term here shows some ignorance or carelessness on the part of the memorialists. The intended meaning is, of course, that accused persons are affected, as described, by the touring of "a Judicial Officer." The answer is, not only that the District Officer tries but very few cases, but also that he is "on tour" only for about 100 days in the year, and would naturally, for reasons of convenience, deal with those few cases while at headquarters. The objection applies more strongly to the cold-weather tours of Subdivisional Officers, who, as Magistrates of the first class, try criminal cases. The areas of the Subdivisions are, however, so limited, and the means of communication are generally so well developed, that the inconvenience is not great, and can be minimized by proper arrangements ; moreover, the objection is more likely to be raised by the pleaders who have their practice at headquarters, rather than by the accused persons themselves. It would be interesting to know the exact percentage of accused persons tried or dealt with by peripatetic Magistrates "in camp" away from headquarters. The number would be very small.

(8) *"that the existing system not only involves all whom*

*it concerns in hardship and inconvenience, but also, by associating the judicial tribunal with the work of the police and of detectives, and by diminishing the safeguards afforded by the rules of evidence, produces actual miscarriages of justice, and creates, although justice be done, opportunities of suspicion, distrust, and discontent, which are greatly to be deplored."*

It would be difficult to formulate a charge more full of exaggerated and inaccurate suggestions. No proof is offered of the alleged hardship and inconvenience ; if they were felt, much more would be heard of them. Nor, in fact, is the judicial tribunal "associated" with the work of the police. The relations between the District Officer and the police have already been described ; the allegations may be absolutely contradicted. The next suggestion, that the existing system "diminishes the safeguards afforded by the rules of evidence" is unintelligible. The rules of evidence, as contained in the Evidence Act, must be and are observed by every Judicial Officer, and any disregard of them would warrant the interference of the higher Judicial Courts ; the rest is mere clap-trap. In the course of twenty years a few cases of alleged irregularities occurred ; some twenty were collected in the compilation already mentioned, in which miscarriages of justice, abuse of judicial power, etc., were alleged. The whole collection was inspired with a strong animus against the Bengal Civil Service. I hold no brief for that distinguished Service, but a perusal of the papers would show any unprejudiced person that the collected cases failed to prove the unfitness of the existing system for India. They proved that officers, being human, are liable to err, and err greatly—which was no new discovery—but they showed, also, that the officers in fault had been duly corrected and punished. The number of such cases has diminished of late years, and the High Courts and the Government are fully able to correct and punish, should such cases recur. The fact remains that the Courts are popular and trusted (especially when presided over by

English officers, in spite of their incomplete acquaintance with the vernacular languages), and that the combination of powers in the District Officer is regarded by every one in the District as the most natural and suitable arrangement.

The last argument advanced by the memorialists is that the "Judicial Officer" should be an expert, specially educated and trained for the work of the Court. It may readily be conceded that it is highly desirable that the highest Judicial Officers in India should be experts in law, whether selected from the Bar, or the Indian Civil Service, or the body of Pleaders; and it certainly is not desirable that a District Officer should be ignorant of law and procedure. But such a state of things is absolutely impossible under the existing system. The District Officer, before he attains that position, must have studied the law for years, and have tried numbers of minor cases of all sorts. The Indian Criminal Law, as comprised in the Codes, is (as already stated) eminently accessible and clear. For such "judicial functions" as the District Officer has to exercise in the trial of minor cases, or in the committal of more serious charges for trial, he is sufficiently qualified by learning, experience, and knowledge of the country, though he may not be "a trained lawyer" in the parlance and opinion of a Bar Library. There is no necessity to rake up here the whole question of the training and selection of Judicial Officers. The memorialists, composed principally of lawyers, may advocate that the whole of the judicial services should be under a High Court, and altogether independent of the Executive Government, and that all judicial offices should belong to the legal profession, to the exclusion of the Indian Civil Service. I cannot admit the soundness of these views. The Executive Government must, of course, be based on law, but no country in the world, so far as I know, allows its judiciary to be altogether independent of the Executive Government. It is a charge constantly, even now, made against the Government that it is a *Vakil ké Rāj*, a Government in which lawyers have



the upper hand, to the detriment of strong administration, and it may be confidently predicted that the executive would be further debilitated if the lawyers had it all their own way.

In defence of the existing system the following arguments and considerations may be urged, and no change should be made unless they can be overruled. It has not been proposed to alter the established system of the general administration of India. Under that system there must be a general representative of the Executive Government in each District, to maintain peace and order, and to carry out the orders and measures of the Executive Government. For this purpose the District Officer, as that representative, must be furnished with adequate powers, and be capable of enforcing his orders under the existing laws. The concentration of power in one officer responsible for the management of the District is the Indian rather than the English idea, and it is essential that the District Officer should possess powers of all sorts, for it is always possible that he may in some emergency or special business require them, although he may not have to be using them all constantly. The tendency of administrative progress in India is to remove special Departments from the District Officer's control, because he cannot have time for everything, or be a specialist or expert in all Departments. In all matters affecting his District, even those of the special Departments (such as Railways, Telegraphs, etc.), his opinion must carry weight; but to enable him to perform his main duties as District Officer—viz., the preservation of the peace and the collection of the Revenue—he must be vested with sufficient powers under the law. It was Sir Fitz-James Stephen who well said: "The exercise of criminal jurisdiction is, both in theory and in fact, the most distinctive and most easily and generally recognized work of sovereign power. All the world over the man who can punish is the ruler." But the law, which gives the District Officers the needful powers, at the same time limits those powers, so that they cannot be



exercised unjustly ; and it is for the High Courts and the Government to see that those legal powers are not abused or exceeded. As the concentration of power in the hands of the District Officer, as the pivot of the administration, is the Indian idea, which, as being the most practical idea, finds expression in the administrative arrangements obtaining in the Native States of India, it may fairly be presumed that the separation of the executive and judicial functions is a suggestion which would not commend itself to native rulers, who know much better than the memorialists can tell them the system best adapted to the country. The suggestion that the existing system is anomalous from a theoretical point of view is of no weight in the minds of practical administrators. Many human institutions, including the British Constitution itself, are full of anomalies, but, nevertheless, work well. Lord Macaulay himself said : " But what constitution can we give to our Indian Empire which shall not be strange—which shall not be anomalous ? That Empire is itself the strangest of all political anomalies."

The issues formulated above for discussion may now be finally dealt with by the light of the considerations which have been set out at length. The existing system is allowed to have led to abuses. There is not much practical evil to be remedied. The most important considerations tell in favour of retaining the present system ; the balance of advantage lies in maintaining it.

Nor is the present the time for any diminution of the authority of the District Officer. The passing of the most recent Act of the Indian Legislature against seditious meetings shows that, in the opinion of the Government, its District Officers had not previously sufficient powers to maintain peace and order in their Districts. The Executive Government can only act through the hands of the District Officers, and if the Imperial Government deliberately weakens their hands by taking away some of the powers now vested in them, it will find it more difficult than ever to put down the "unrest in India."

The memorialists are not the persons charged with the maintenance of the peace of the Districts. They advocate a counsel of perfection, without sufficient regard for the practical wants of the actual administration of the country. The separation of the executive and judicial functions would certainly mean the weakening of the position and powers of the District Officers—that is, of the Executive Government. And there is no evidence whatever forthcoming to show that the separation is asked for by public opinion (*pace* the memorialists), or that it would be acceptable to the masses, or to those who care for the welfare of India. On the other hand, the maintenance of peace and order must be the first consideration, as the Right Honourable Mr. Morley lately repeated at Arbroath—as the Prime Minister has more recently declared—and any alteration in the laws or practice that would endanger the peace of India should not be contemplated for a moment.

## THE DEVELOPMENT AND TRADE OF BURMA.\*

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EVER since Lord Ripon went to Burma in March, 1882, each succeeding Viceroy has made a point of visiting this rich outlying province once during his tenure of office. Sometimes this now customary visit has been delayed till so late that little practical advantage to the province has accrued from it; but as the tour of the present Viceroy, the Earl of Minto, beginning on November 19, takes place within two years of his assumption of office, this affords good reason to hope that it may soon be productive of useful practical results with regard to the trade and development of Burma.

A viceregal tour to the great Further Indian province is something far more than is indicated by the pomp and pageantry with which the ruler of India is everywhere attended. These demonstrations attain their climax at Rangoon, where the progress along the three miles from the landing-wharf on the river up to Government House is marked by numerous triumphal arches, erected by different sections of the town and by the various races inhabiting the metropolis. The entry in state is a great holiday, a unique opportunity afforded once every five years or so of beholding the chief representative of the imperial power in India. Rangoon is *en fête*, and the people enjoy this occasional festival of the viceregal entry without either thinking or caring anything about the special advantages to be derived by the province in connexion with such a visit. Their answer would be just the same, "It is a holiday," were the gay, silken-clad crowds that throng the route to witness the passing of the Viceroy to be harangued in words like those

\* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

reproachfully addressed by Marullus, the tribune, to the fickle Roman crowds that had shouted themselves hoarse over the triumphal procession of Julius Cæsar, although *he* brought no conquests home nor tributaries "to grace in captive bonds his chariot-wheels," and they themselves had often

" . . . Sat

The livelong day, with patient expectation,  
To see great Pompey pass the streets of Rome."

The Burmese love holidays. They are quite of Gilbert à Beckett's opinion that "Cæsar and Pompey are very much alike, especially Pompey," and for them the Viceroy of the day is "great Pompey." They are just as fond of processions and spectacular fêtes as the ancient Romans could possibly have been, although they may be far more restrained and less demonstrative in their greetings and acclamations. To them the occasion is one of amusement only, without any other thought or afterthought. But to the other communities of the great mercantile capital, the Hindus and the Mahomedans, more provident and calculating, such an opportunity as a viceregal visit affords for pushing their trading and other interests is not lost; while, of course, it is naturally also made the most of by the provincial Chamber of Commerce, the guardians of the great mercantile and trading interests. Hence, behind the outward ceremonial pomp and display of a viceregal visit there lie important opportunities for directly influencing matters connected with the trade and development of the province.

And this is more particularly the case with Burma than with any other province. Its geographical position makes direct personal communication with the Government of India far more difficult and more merely occasional than is the case with any of the other provinces. Calcutta and Rangoon are separated by 700 miles of ocean, for no railway yet connects Bengal with Burma. So the viceregal visit once during the tenure of office is the only opportunity afforded to the head of the Government of India of coming in contact with local men and hearing local opinions. It is

the only chance the Viceroy has of forming opinions for himself after having had matters submitted in writing to his judgment from various points of view. It is the only occasion when things can be put before him by any other than the secretarial method, with its obvious limitations and drawbacks. Coming into personal contact not only with the highest officials, the heads of Government departments and the leading merchants, but also having good opportunities of conversing with district officials and lesser men of every degree and every shade of opinion, the Viceroy can form his own opinion of all the pending questions that interest him, and in a much more thorough, reliable, and satisfactory way than is possible by means of even the most lengthy and voluminous correspondence. And as Lord Minto's tour in the province is expected to extend over about a month, he will have ample opportunities of forming his own personal opinion by what he sees and hears.

With regard to bringing its special requirements directly before the notice of the Government of India, Burma, the Cinderella of the Indian provinces, is much better off now than formerly. About seventeen years ago the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce was invited to nominate a member for appointment to the Legislative Council of the Government of India at Calcutta.\* But as the Council sits at the busiest time of the mercantile year, this was an unsatisfactory arrangement; so, after Burma was raised to the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship, in May, 1897, a civil officer of high standing was officially nominated as the representative of the province during each legislative session at Calcutta. This direct representation was greatly increased a year ago, however, when Sir Harvey Adamson

\* It seems a misfortune for this great third seaport of our Indian Empire that Rangoon has not been permitted, like Calcutta and Bombay, to elect a member to the Viceroy's Legislative Council under Mr. Morley's new scheme of August, 1907. It is not prescribed that these Chambers of Commerce must elect one of their own members as their representative. Neither Bombay nor Rangoon merchant firms could, indeed, thus spare one of their best men in the cold season to go to Calcutta.



was appointed to be an ordinary member of the Governor-General's Council, in which he holds the portfolio of the Home Department. But earlier than that, in May, 1905, the government of the province had been entrusted to Sir Herbert Thirkell White, who was the first head of the Administration appointed since 1873 with purely Burmese service. Both of these distinguished officers began their service in Burma in 1877, and have served there continuously, without even a temporary transfer to any other province. No Lieutenant-Governor of any Indian province has ever assumed office with a deeper and more intimate knowledge of the affairs and the people entrusted to his charge than Sir Herbert Thirkell White possesses. During the troublous years from 1886 to 1890, while the pacification was going on after the annexation, he was the Secretary for Upper Burma and the right hand of the two successive Chief Commissioners, Sir Charles Bernard and Sir Charles Crosthwaite. Later on, as Chief Secretary for Burma, Commissioner of Mandalay, Judicial Commissioner for Upper Burma, and Chief Judge of the Chief Court in Lower Burma, in the two last of which offices he was succeeded by Sir Harvey Adamson, he has had a splendid training for the high position he now fills. Of all his predecessors, Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Chief Commissioner of British Burma (1862 to 1867) is the only one who had anything like the same knowledge and grasp of the province's affairs; but fortunately Sir Herbert Thirkell White has, as Lieutenant-Governor, far more power, as well as far greater scope in every direction, for influencing the progress of the development and trade of Burma than his celebrated predecessor enjoyed some forty years ago.

No doubt, in response to the address which will be presented by the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce, Lord Minto will now be able to give a more favourable reply than Lord Curzon of Kedleston could make in 1901, whose visit, however, resulted in his otherwise doing much to promote the provincial trade and commerce. But the real

power of the Lieutenant-Governor, as regards both the material and the educational and other progress, depends to a very great extent on the spending powers accorded to him under the quinquennial financial contract, known as "the Provincial Settlement," made with the Government of India in terms of an arrangement which commenced in April, 1882. This system was extended to include Upper Burma for 1897 to 1902 (although by 1891 the province had repaid to India the expenditure on the third Burmese War, advanced from imperial funds, and had become more than self-supporting), and a liberal settlement was made, favourable to rapid progress; but, owing to the large and rapidly increasing surplus revenue, a less favourable contract was forced upon the province for the lustrum 1902 to 1907. The new settlement, running from April, 1907, is again somewhat fairer to the province in the allotment of the income derived from land revenue, customs, excise, forests, assessed taxes, stamps, etc., these being divided in varying proportions between the imperial and the provincial treasury.

From the Burma point of view it is greatly to be deplored that the viceregal visit cannot take place while a new financial contract is still under consideration, in place of immediately after it has been fixed for the next five years. Provincial funds derive the great bulk of their receipts from the heads which are shared with imperial funds, and the proportionate distribution between the provincial and the imperial treasuries mainly determines the ability of the Lieutenant-Governor to encourage the public works upon which the further material development of the province and the expansion of trade in great measure depend. Naturally, there is a conflict of interests, the Government of Burma desiring to retain as large a share as possible for its own use, and the Government of India determining to take for the needs of poorer provinces as much money as it can without manifestly robbing Burma and interfering with its ever-profitable development.

Since the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, and more

particularly since the elevation of Burma to a Lieutenant-Governorship in 1897, the province has been much more fairly treated in this respect than formerly, when it was looked upon as a good "milch cow" for feeding the treasuries of poorer local Governments in India proper. Indeed, so great was the mercantile indignation at an unjust proportion of the local income being transferred to other provinces, in place of being more liberally used in opening out roads, railways, and other inland communications in British Burma, that in March, 1885, the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce desired the various Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain to bring pressure on Government to have the province severed from the Indian Empire and transformed into a Crown colony in order "to develop its own resources." This clamour would certainly have grown louder and more persistent but for the annexation of Upper Burma following nine months later. Its re-echo is even now again heard from time to time, when the powerful mercantile community thinks that Burma is perhaps being unfairly treated. And as, after all, the energy of the trading classes is the mainspring for working the machinery by means of which the Government directly or indirectly obtains its revenue, their exhortations, when reasonable, can never be listened to with a deaf ear.

Notwithstanding the steady progress of railway and road construction during the last thirty years, the improvement of inland communications still forms one of the most urgent needs of Burma; and, of course, further activity in this direction depends to a great extent on the allotment made for public works in each new provincial contract, because even though special funds for sanctioned railway construction be separately provided, there are many other direct and indirect expenses (for feeder-roads, etc.) that must be borne by the local Government in order to utilize new railway-lines to the best advantage.

The new contract of 1907-12 will admit of a reasonable amount of progress in roads, railways, surveys, irrigation,

and similar works; and if the Royal Commission appointed in August, 1907, to inquire into the financial and administrative relations of the supreme and the provincial Governments should result in any changes at all, it is probable that the local Government of Burma will henceforth have more funds at disposal than hitherto, and greater freedom in utilizing them.

The railways of Burma are all of *mètre gauge*. The first to be opened—in May, 1877—was a line running from Rangoon northwards for 163 miles to the town of Prome on the Irrawaddy, about 45 miles below the then western frontier military station, Thayetmyo. Strongly recommended by Sir Arthur Phayre, it was projected in 1868; but the first sod was not turned till July, 1874, when operations were started as a relief work for the employment of famine immigrants from Bengal. Forming the chord of an arc made by the Irrawaddy, this line opened up a large, fertile, land-locked tract of fine rice-producing land stretching westwards from the base of the Pegu Yoma Hills. At that time along all the central portion for about 100 miles the track, following the old military road made after the second Burmese War in 1852, mostly passed through dense forest with only small clearances for cultivation here and there; but now the whole valley has for more than fifteen years been cleared and transformed into rice-fields, save only where patches of the primeval jungle were here and there retained as "fuel reserves" for the railway, or where other patches, far too few in number, were afterwards set apart as "grazing-grounds" for the village buffaloes and other plough cattle.

Seven years later, in 1884, a similar line, 166 miles long, was opened up the Sittang Valley to give easy communication between Rangoon and the eastern frontier military station, Taungoo, on the Sittang. Like the Prome line, this ran along the base of the Pegu Hills, between them and the Sittang River, and traversed tracts potentially rich, though scantily populated. It was therefore chiefly as a

military strategic line that this railway was built, for Taungoo was practically cut off from communication with Rangoon during the whole of the rainy season, lasting from May till November. But it also lay on the most direct and easy route to Mandalay; and when it was extended up into Upper Burma after the annexation, and was finally opened to direct traffic from Rangoon to Mandalay early in 1889, it soon formed a great highway, thronged by immigrants from the poorer, drier districts of Central Burma, who came down in thousands to the richer uncultivated wastes of the Sittang Valley, and have now transformed it into one vast rice-field, similar to the great plain on the Irrawaddy side.

From Mandalay the railway-line was gradually extended in successive sections first to Katha, on the Irrawaddy, about thirty miles below Bhamo, and then to Mogaung and Myitkyina, the chief town in the northern district of Burma, situated near the extreme north of the navigable portion of the Irrawaddy, which is formed by the junction of two streams, the Mèka and Malikha, about twenty-five miles further up. Through communication from Rangoon to Myitkyina was opened in 1898, and a main trunk line was thus formed, with a length of 724 miles, and unlocking inland tracts, many of whose products could not profitably reach the Irrawaddy for river transport. From the Rangoon-Prome Railway, and from this trunk line running north and south through the middle of Burma, various branch lines have during the last fifteen years been thrown out as feeders. In Lower Burma, the richest part of the province, with a fertile alluvial soil and a copious rainfall, the western seaport of Bassein has been linked up with Letpadan at the middle of the Rangoon-Prome line, and from this a spur has been thrown out from Henzada, on the Irrawaddy, viâ Ôkpo, to Kyangin, also on the main river; while on the Sittang side a branch is now almost completed from Pegu to Martaban on the right bank of the Salween, nearly opposite the eastern seaport of Moulmein, the birthplace of the teak timber export trade. In Upper



Burma a branch extends from Thazi to Myingyan, on the Irrawaddy, just below where this receives its main tributary, the Chindwin River, and this line passes through the heart of the chief cotton-growing district of Burma. From Mandalay two branches have been thrown out, one proceeding westwards up the Chindwin Valley to Budalin, and the other north-east past the delightful little hill station of Maymyo, the summer head-quarters of the Government, through the Hsipaw (Thibaw) State to Lashio, the capital of the Northern Shan States. This is the branch that some irresponsible enthusiasts would insist on extending to the Kunlon Ferry, on the Salween, and thence right on to Yunnanfu or Talifu, in defiance of any financial considerations prompted by reasonable weighing of probable expenditure and possible income. But any immediate prolongation beyond Lashio has been wisely decided against by the Government, because there are several other projects under consideration of far more importance for speedily increasing the trade and commerce of the province.

The railway lines constructed and the projects made previous to September, 1896, were undertaken by the State. But on the open system, aggregating 834 miles, being then taken over by the Burma Railways Company, Limited, this undertook to complete and eventually work such other lines as the Secretary of State for India might entrust to it, under certain conditions as to raising the further capital that might thereby become necessary. The Government of India guaranteed to the company an annual dividend of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. plus one-fifth of the surplus earnings beyond that rate of interest; but the Government has the right to terminate the contract on six months' notice in 1921, or in any subsequent tenth year, by repayment of the share capital at par. As the onus of finding money for construction thus virtually falls upon Government, only such projects can be seriously entertained as justify the hope of considerably benefiting the administration, trade and revenues of the province. The arrangement with the

company works well. The open lines now being worked extend to over 1,350 miles, and the £100 shares now stand at £110, which speaks well for their character as an investment yielding only a small dividend.

One of the most important of the new railway projects is a branch already surveyed from Thazi on the main line, the junction of the Myingyan branch, to proceed eastwards to Taunggyi, the capital of the Southern Shan States. This offers good prospect of being a very profitable undertaking, and its construction is now hoped to be commenced as soon as the present rainy season ends, though funds do not permit of its gauge exceeding  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

The project next in importance, and one which is also regarded as of great value, is a new line (unfortunately also of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet gauge) to run from Bhamo to Tengyüeh in Yunnan, the survey of which was begun in 1906. This railway will greatly facilitate the existing trade with Western China, and will also increase it, for traffic ceases at present during the rainy season. And further than that, it will also probably be a much shorter and easier route than the Kunlön ferry for ultimately extending a railway to Talifu, the northern emporium of Yunnan, at 7,000 feet above the sea-level, should the future development of trade encourage such an enterprise in due course of time. The trade of Bhamo with the rest of Burma is entirely river-borne at present; but as soon as circumstances permit of a Bhamo-Tengyüeh line being constructed, it will soon be probable that direct land communication will also be made between Bhamo and the main Rangoon-Myitkyina trunk line, possibly viâ the existing spur at Katha. Other surveys made in 1906 consist of branch lines from Pegu to Syriam, to the east of the Pegu River, and from Pyiwin on the Rangoon-Mandalay line westwards towards Magwe on the Irrawaddy, and a loop line on the Henzada-Bassein section, opening out a land-locked tract.

When Lord Curzon visited Burma in the autumn of 1901, after marching through Manipur, and being thus the

first Viceroy to enter the province by land, the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce not only advocated the prolongation of the Mandalay-Lashio branch line towards the Kunlôn ferry on the Salween River, but also urged the question of extending the main trunk-line from Myitkyina northwards, so as to link up with the Assam railway system, and thus provide an overland route between India and Burma. Little encouragement could then be given to the idea; and although once more there is every likelihood of such consideration being pressed upon Lord Minto's attention this autumn, it is difficult to see how his reception of this Burma-Assam proposal can be other than again discouraging. That there must be in course of time, and probably at no very distant date, a direct land route from Bengal to Burma is certain. It is a real need, and must sooner or later be met and satisfied. In 1824 some of the high-caste Bengal sepoys mutinied on being ordered to cross "the black water" to fight in Burma, and they were therefore made to march down by land along the coast of Chittagong into Arakan. Hence only volunteers were sent by sea, and the greater part of the British force had to be drawn from Madras, as was again the case during the second Burmese War in 1852, in order to obviate danger of mutiny.

That there is the vast amount of nearly 25,000,000 acres of fertile cultivable soil awaiting new-comers for its clearance in many parts of Burma is an undoubted fact, and it is equally certain that "the black water" of the Bay of Bengal forms an impassable barrier hindering the entrance of Hindu caste-folks, who might otherwise be willing to tear themselves away from want and misery in congested districts, or from localities where uncertain rainfall renders successful cultivation precarious. Population is one of the greatest needs of Burma, and however much the local Government may dislike the idea of swamping the country with Hindus or Mahomedans from the over-populated parts of India, yet such an influx must come in course of time, and the Government of Burma neither can nor should

encourage a policy of closing a province in which there is ample room and abundance of virgin land, now lying waste and uncleared, against immigration which would relieve the necessitous distress of the other older and over-populated provinces, and which would add largely to the revenue. But it by no means follows from this that the best road from India to Burma lies by way of Assam; and Government is therefore bound to consider how the very limited means at its disposal can most advantageously be invested for the general welfare and development of the province.

The great alternative to the Myitkyina-Assam scheme is the projection of a railway from the Irrawaddy Valley across the Arakan Yoma hills and the plains of the Koladan River, via Akyab, and then northwards to Chittagong, to meet the Eastern Bengal railway system terminating there. This is no brand-new scheme, for it has been long under consideration, and would probably have been put into execution about twenty years ago, had not the third Burmese War and the annexation of Upper Burma given a different trend to the march of historic events, and to the special needs of the province.

As early as 1881 the statistics then collected as to the influx of Bengal coolies from Chittagong across the only land route, the Maungdaw Pass, into the Akyab district showed that a first-class road, or preferably a railway, from Chittagong to Akyab would facilitate the clearance and population of the great stretches of rich alluvial soil awaiting cultivation in the fertile valleys of Arakan. The same reasons still exist, and with far greater urgency now than then, because the route *viâ* Chittagong and Akyab is naturally the line of least resistance as regards increasing the flow of immigrants into Burma by land; and at the same time such a route opens up far greater possibilities of trade than can be served by extending the Rangoon-Myitkyina line north-westwards through the wild, densely forest-clad Kachin tracts and across the Patkoi Hills to Sibsagar and Lakimpur.



There are three directions in which a Chittagong-Akyab railway might cross the Arakan Yoma hills and reach the Irrawaddy Valley. One is the An or Aeng Pass leading to the towns of Sinbyugyun, Minbu, and Minhla, on the Irrawaddy; another is the Taunggôp Pass, leading from the Sandoway district over into Prome; and the third is the Gwa or southern route to skirt the seaboard and cross the low hills to the west of the seaport of Bassein. From an engineering point of view, the Taunggôp-Prome route would probably be the easiest to construct, while on broader national-economic grounds it also would appear to be the most desirable. In 1892 a reconnaissance was made from Minhla through the An Pass to Chittagong, and a feasible alignment was found. But the project was not then taken in hand owing to want of funds, as the work would have been rendered expensive by an ascent to 2,800 feet, and a tunnel of 3,000 feet long at the top of the pass. The Taunggôp route from Prome to Arakan (113½ miles) was surveyed in 1903 and 1904, with results which showed that this line would be easier than the An route, both as to total ascent and as regards the length of tunnel required at the summit. And as it would link on with the Rangoon-Prome line at a busy centre of rail and river traffic, it seems by far the preferable route. So, projects of more pressing demand having now been accomplished, a new detailed survey is under consideration for immediate commencement.

As railways are opened the need of good metalled roads as feeders is everywhere increasingly felt. Owing to the climate, the absence of good stone for metal, and the high cost of labour, the construction and maintenance of the roads in Burma necessitate a larger expenditure per mile than in any other province. Even the average annual cost of upkeep amounts of itself to £62 a mile in the damp climate of Lower Burma, and to £47 6s. 8d. in the drier Upper Burma, while that of unmetalled dry-weather roads respectively averages £15 6s. 8d. and £11 6s. 8d. The roads get terribly cut up into deep ruts, even though the



old-fashioned wooden wheels have for the most part given place to iron-tyred and spoked wheels. It is only in the remoter parts of the country that the old-fashioned wooden discs are still in use, whose value was all the greater in the owner's opinion the more these wheels creaked. Apart from municipal roads, there are nearly 2,000 miles of metalled and 8,500 of unmetalled roads, which shows that a good proportion is being maintained to assist the railways in the development of inland traffic. Irrigation of the dry tracts of Upper Burma has also been well seen to since the pacification was accomplished in 1890, and the area now capable of being irrigated exceeds 800,000 acres or 1,250 square miles, although as yet the acreage actually under irrigation falls far short of the possible extent, owing to want of sufficient population.

All these great public works accomplished during the last thirty years, and more especially during the last twenty-one years since the annexation of Upper Burma, in the shape of railways, roads, the improvement of old irrigation channels, and the construction of new canals, have had a very powerful influence on the expansion of trade, both within the province and beyond its frontiers. The Burman is not of a saving or hoarding disposition. What he makes he soon spends. Near the large towns and the great centres of trade he already, however, is beginning to feel the keen competition of men of other races and religions, chiefly Hindus from Bengal and Madras, and Sikhs and Mahomedans from Upper India; and as time goes on his old easy-going life may have to change and become more earnest and provident. But as yet all the increase in the cultivation of rice, the great staple product of the country, means that the larger the production, the greater the surplus available for export; and the larger the export business becomes, the more the import trade increases, for the Burman freely spends his income in ways which usually more or less directly stimulate the purchase of imported goods and benefit the merchants at the seaports.

The increase in the rice export trade has been great and continuous. And apart from their many other advantages, there can be no doubt that the railways have been one of the main factors in the astonishing development that has taken place during this last generation. Thirty years ago the total cultivated area in British Burma was 2,800,000 acres, of which 2,500,000 were rice; and when the export of rough-milled rice reached a million tons in 1880, it was thought remarkable. Since then it has increased to over  $2\frac{1}{4}$  million tons, worth over 11 million pounds sterling, and bringing in a revenue of over £800,000 as export duty. And in place of being merely roughly husked in the mills, polished white rice is now mainly exported. Yet this outturn can be more than doubled, whenever there is a sufficient population to clear and till the 25 million acres of waste or jungle-covered land suitable for permanent cultivation. The area now under crop annually is about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, of which nearly  $9\frac{1}{2}$  millions, or over three quarters, are rice, the remaining areas being chiefly, those used for growing sesamum, millet, gram, wheat, maize, various kinds of peas and beans, and cotton, throughout the dry zone of Upper Burma. In the increased rice export trade Upper Burma, forming the greater portion of the province, takes no share. Its annexation actually decreased the volume of the total rice export temporarily, because Upper Burma is not self-supporting as to rice, and what it got from Lower Burma previous to 1886 was then included in land-borne trans-frontier traffic. Whenever there is famine or scarcity in India, China, or Japan, Burma is the near and never-failing granary whence great stores of nutritive rice can be easily acquired, whilst still permitting of a large export trade to Britain and Germany. Thus in 1900 over a million tons were shipped to India to relieve the want then being caused by the famine.

But it is not only through progressive public works that the Government of Burma has endeavoured to stimulate

trade and commerce. An Agricultural Department has just been constituted on a sound basis, and qualified experts are now engaged in studying the special problems of economic agriculture in the different parts of the province, so as to improve the yield both in quantity and in quality. And for the further benefit of the peasantry, over two-thirds of the entire population being agriculturists, a Land Alienation Bill is now under consideration, which should help to keep the cultivators on the lands they have cleared and occupied, and which will anticipate and prevent the evils that have been caused in other provinces by unrestrained alienation of holdings. At the same time, consideration is likewise being given to Tenancy Legislation, which is also desirable, though not yet so urgently necessary as a law to restrict alienation by cultivators.

Next to rice teak timber forms the second, though the oldest, staple product of Burma. The forest wealth of the province may be roughly judged of by the fact that nearly two-thirds of the total area is still under woodland or jungle growth of one sort or another. A large part of this (about 25 million acres) is of course suitable for permanent cultivation, and will no doubt in due time be brought under the plough when population increases. But the area actually set apart as "reserved forests" to be maintained for timber production and for the storage and regulation of the water-supply and the maintenance of the streams, and for other economic advantages, already extends to over 20,500 square miles, while much of the remaining total estimated forest area of 123,500 square miles has still to be gone over for the selection of tracts suitable for reservation. In these forests teak is by far the most valuable tree, for Burma and Siam are the only two countries which can furnish large supplies of this timber.

Thirty years ago 160,000 tons of teak, having a value of about £700,000, were exported, mostly from Moulmein; but during the last twenty years the timber trade of Moulmein has declined, while that of Rangoon has greatly

increased. Owing to the heavy fellings permitted in Upper Burma under the old leases obtained from the Court of Ava before 1886, every effort was naturally made by the lessees to extract as much timber as possible at the exceptionally favourable rates then obtaining. Hence from 85,000 tons in 1893-1894, the exports from Rangoon alone increased to over 200,000 tons for some years after 1897, the total export of teak from Burma for the three years 1897 to 1900 annually exceeding 270,000 tons, with a declared value of upwards of £1,500,000 sterling. But during these last ten years the quantity available for extraction has recently decreased considerably, owing to more conservative principles having been adopted under British rule than could be enforced while the old royal leases were still running. Under native rule the marketable teak-trees were recklessly "girdled," or ringed, to kill and season them, without any consideration being given to the maintenance of future supplies. But this decrease in quantity under a more rational system of forest management has forced up prices in the European market to an unprecedented height; and although the foreign export of teak from Rangoon in 1906 only amounted to 36,385 tons, its declared export value was nearly £10 a ton, which is, of course, far below its actual market value in Europe.

The great forest leases granted for Upper Burma by the Court of Ava lapsed in 1900, and it is only since then that the timber business of Burma could be put on such a footing as to offer a fair field for trade on equal terms. The policy then adopted was to permit several substantial timber firms to have reasonable contracts for working out from well-defined areas the timber previously girdled and killed by officers of the Forest Department. A royalty, varying from 30s. to 46s. 8d. per ton, is now usually payable on all the first-class logs reaching the timber depot for sale-marking them on their way down to the sawmills, and these supplies from the contract areas can be supplemented by purchasing timber at the public auctions held



usually once a month at the Government timber depot at Alôn, adjoining Rangoon.

With one exception—made in 1889, in order to prevent the formation of a monopoly, and to maintain a healthy, though weak, competition by enabling one other good European firm to subsist without danger of being crushed and driven into bankruptcy by the chief lessee in Upper Burma—all of these forest leases and contracts were given out only for Upper Burma; but during the present year many of the forests in Lower Burma, hitherto only worked by direct departmental agency for the supply of timber to be sold at the Rangoon depot, have also been thrown open to the several European firms now engaged in the teak trade. This new policy regarding the forests of Lower Burma was entered on last spring, and has been formally notified in a Resolution published in the *Burma Gazette* of September 14, 1907. It entirely changes the prudent and profitable measures formerly adopted under the express orders of the Government of India, and which yielded very successful results, and seemed most desirable to be retained as a fixed policy. It means a considerable and an altogether unnecessary loss of revenue to Burma. And once they have established themselves in the Lower Burma forests, it will afterwards be impossible to get rid of the European lumbering firms from them again, even should Government ultimately desire to do so. But local conditions have changed in recent years, and, of course, the Forest Department controls all girdling operations, and arranges for the forests being worked only upon strictly conservative principles.

For this seemingly unnecessary abandonment of timber revenue, however, the Government of Burma is, perhaps, not to blame. Despite the splendid net surplus revenue from these forests, which has usually varied in recent years from £350,000 to £400,000, the Government of India has persistently starved Burma in the matter of forest officers. For many years back the local Government has been asking for more forest establishment, and at present this forms one of



the most urgent requirements of the province. It is fully recognized in Burma itself that there is very urgent need for doing the utmost possible to develop work throughout the forests—in the selection, settlement, and demarcation of further areas for reservation, in the formation of conservative working-plans for the reserved forests not yet thus brought under scientific management, in the formation of plantations, in fire-protection and cultural operations for the improvement of the growing stock of timber, in opening up the woodlands, and in trying to introduce new timbers and other forest produce to the notice of the great markets beyond the seas. Efforts in this last direction have been increased by employing an expert from England recently to experiment with various woods, bamboos, and coarse grasses, so as to judge of their suitability for wood-pulp manufacture, and to ascertain the commercial value of tannin extracts from various barks. Some of the latter are only too often used in the adulteration of cutch, the fine dye obtained by boiling chips of the heart-wood of the *Acacia catechu* tree, abundant throughout the tracts having a rainfall of between 30 and 70 or 75 inches. The cultivation of caoutchouc, too, has received considerable attention,\* which has also been devoted to the rubber-producing creepers and other plants plentiful in many parts of the province, although even the southern tracts of Burma seem rather too far north of the Equator for the best growth of the Para rubber-tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*), while the northern districts form the southern limit of the *Ficus elastica*, indigenous to Assam. One of the gravest forest questions with respect to the future is, however, the reservation of wooded areas for water-storage and to prevent the further denudation of the hill-sides, and thus retain a fair proportion of forest, especially in localities near the tracts where rainfall is scanty and precarious.

\* The *Burma Gazette*, September 14, 1907, also contains a statement of the terms upon which Government is prepared to lease the Mergui Rubber Plantation in Tenasserim.

The other chief exports besides rice and teak are petroleum, raw cotton, hides and skins, and rubies. From 19 million gallons raised in the oilfields of Central Burma in 1897, the yield of earth-oil rose to over 142 million gallons in 1905, and this forms by far the most important industry in the Yenangyaung and surrounding districts. During 1907 the Burma Oil Company's business has again been more extensive and more profitable than ever before; and the only unsatisfactory point about it is that hitherto it has almost formed a monopoly, although there is plenty of room for healthy and not unfriendly competition by a larger number of European firms if the local Government will only give them the necessary amount of reasonable encouragement. The other mineral wealth of Burma includes the ruby mines at Mogôk and Kyatpyin, about 100 miles north-east of Mandalay, which yield rough rubies to the annual value of £93,000, the jade and amber mines of the Myitkyina district, and the tin deposits of Mergin and Tavoy, though the coal and gold, believed to exist in considerable quantities, especially in the Shan States, are only mined to a very small extent.

Cotton is chiefly grown further north, in the dry zone, in the tracts passed through by the Thazi-Myingyan and Mandalay-Budalin branch railways, though at present the area annually under crop is only about 190,000 acres. Over thirty-five years ago King Mindôn made cotton a royal monopoly, and started a ginning-mill in Mandalay. But the European engineer engaged by him stopped work whenever his pay fell into arrears, and Mindôn reverted to local hand-ginning. Although the Upper Burma cotton is somewhat short in the staple, yet a much larger field seems open for enterprise in its cultivation than has hitherto been utilized. While on an official tour in the Meiktila district during the autumn of 1896, I was surprised to find, from the inquiries I made, that apparently no attention was being given to this trade by any European firm. It was then, I was told, entirely in the hands of Chinamen. In

the spring they advanced money to the cultivators, who bound themselves to deliver 170 rupees' worth of cotton for every 100 rupees advanced. Even considering the risk of precarious rainfall, this seemed a rich return even in a country where 3 per cent. per mensem is a usual rate of interest for loans on deposit of gold jewelry to the capital amount, so I brought the matter to the notice of a member of one of the large European rice firms in Rangoon, and was amazed to find he did not think the matter at all worth investigation. The Chinese brokers were disliked as harsh creditors. The raw cotton had to be ginned by girls and women working hand-gins, and then carted either to the railway line or to the Irrawaddy River before it could be transported southwards to Rangoon or northwards to Bhamo, *en route* for Yunnan. The joining of Thazi and Myingyan by railway was simply a matter of a year or two, and it seemed to me that there was a splendid opening for European enterprise. Since then the railway-line has been constructed, and ginning-mills and one or two presses have been built by Chetties and Chinamen, who doubtless make large profits. But according to the Administration Report of Burma for 1906 there still seems plenty of room for energetic enterprise :

"Cotton ginning-mills there are in plenty, owned for the most part by Chinamen, but they are nearly all small concerns. Cotton-spinning and weaving establishments are non-existent, and all the cotton garments used in Burma are made from cloth imported from Europe or England, or woven in slowly-decreasing quantities in the village hand-loom by the women of the family."

Perhaps the best rough idea that can be formed of the recent increase, extent, and value of the external trade of Burma is obtainable by glancing at the total exports and imports, and at the coasting and inland trans-frontier trade statistics.

Twenty years ago the value of the combined export and import seaborne trade was under £12,000,000. Ten years ago it had increased to over £18,500,000. For the year

ending March 31, 1906, it surpassed all previous records, and rose to £28,500,000. Over four-fifths of this total passed through Rangoon, while Moulmein, once the chief seaport, and still the second in importance, shared only less than one-twelfth of the total. In any case, the palmy days of the old port at the mouth of the Salween are over, and its trade is more likely to decrease than increase, if the silting up of the Moulmein River, noticeable last year, should continue. But even the port of Rangoon itself is not free from drawbacks, occasioning much concern to the Port Commissioners and the Chamber of Commerce; for the latter had in April, 1906, to urge the local Government to give a liberal grant-in-aid to the Commissioners to enable them to incur the considerable expenditure that will be necessary to arrest the process of recent erosion and to bring the Rangoon River more under control in the interests both of the port itself and of the general prosperity of the province.

A very healthy feature of Burma trade is that, while the foreign maritime commerce is constantly expanding, the coastal trade to other ports in the Indian Empire is also increasing in a very marked proportion, although, of course, in special years there is always an abnormal increase in this latter whenever large quantities of rice have to be poured into famine districts.

In round numbers the foreign maritime trade of 1905-1906 amounted in value to £15,000,000 (the exports being about 9½ millions and the imports over 5½ millions), while the Indian coastal trade, stimulated by a great demand for rice, rose to about £13,000,000 (exports being about 7 million and imports over 6 millions). Japan was, as she has been for some years past, the chief purchaser of rice, taking more than a quarter of the total foreign export, while India required the abnormally large quantity of over 300,000 tons. Rice, of course, formed 77 per cent. of the total volume of foreign exports, and teak timber bulked next in quantity and value; but nearly 5,000 tons of raw



cotton, worth about £200,000, were shipped, more than two-thirds of which went to Japan and China, and the rest chiefly to Britain. The trade in hides and skins is also gradually growing in value, and over £100,000 worth were exported. As might be expected, the foreign imports chiefly consist of cotton, woollen, and silk piece-goods, twists and yarns, iron goods and hardware, salt and sugar. But one marked change of recent years is that the local Burma petroleum and kerosine industry has not only rendered the importation of Russian and American kerosine practically unnecessary, but has also developed into a very important trade with Indian ports. Thus the value of mineral oils sent from Burma to India rose in 1906 to nearly £2,000,000, the shipments taking place to all the four chief ports—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Karachi—and exceeding in value even the abnormally large coastal rice export, valued at nearly £1,600,000. The imports from India consist mainly of piece-goods, mostly derived from Europe, and of vegetable oils for cooking, the Indian earth-nut oil being now largely used as a cheap substitute for sessamum oil.

Simultaneously with this very rapid expansion of the maritime trade with foreign countries and Indian ports there has also been, as was to be expected with the improvement of communications by road and rail, a large increase in the inland transfrontier trade through Bhamo and Myitkyina into Western China, through Lashio into the Northern Shan States, through Taunggyi into the Southern Shan States, and across the eastern frontier of Lower Burma into Karenni and Siam. In 1905-1906 this land-borne transfrontier traffic amounted to £3,000,000 in value. The imports consist chiefly of cattle, elephants, silk-piece goods, and miscellaneous produce, and form more than one-half of the total trade, while the exports are mainly cotton piece-goods, twists and yarns, bullion, raw cotton, and opium. As all the transfrontier routes are practically closed during the rainy season, for at least four months of



each year, traffic is certain to increase largely as soon as the projected railways from Bhamo to Tengyueh, and from Thazi to Taunggyi, are constructed, because these main routes into Western China and the Southern Shan States are those which already furnish by far the greater part of the already existing trade.

In concluding these necessarily brief remarks about maritime and river-borne trade, it is only fitting to allude to the great debt Burma owes to the steamship companies specially connected with the province—Messrs. Patrick Henderson and Co., the pioneers of direct communication between Britain and Burma; Messrs. Bibby and Co.'s fine fortnightly service of large steamers from Liverpool to Rangoon; the British India Steam Navigation Company, in whose hands is the great and growing coast traffic from Singapore right along the Indian sea-board to the Persian Gulf; and the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, owning a splendid river fleet. So great, indeed, is the debt Burma owes to these last-named two companies during the past fifty years, that it might well be said they have done even more for the development of the trade of the province than has been achieved by the railways during the last thirty years. And that is saying a great deal.

The above facts and figures speak for themselves, and easily confute any charge that may be attempted to be brought against the Government of Burma of having hitherto failed to do all that is reasonably possible to promote the development, trade, and prosperity of the province. Enthusiasts for railway expansion seem blind to the fact that a local Government has many other departments than merely one for public works. Revenue settlements, law and justice, sanitation (especially while plague is in the province), and education, all make equally strong appeals for progressive measures that cannot possibly be carried out without an ample supply of funds. And if roads and railways are in some directions not being pushed forward quite so rapidly as seems desirable by the mer-

chants in the great trading centres, this is by no means due to any want of intelligent perception or of energy and earnest desire on the part of administrative and executive officers. Local Governments and administrative departments must submit to the will of the supreme Government. To them, just the same as to private individuals, applies the proverb about cutting one's coat according to the cloth ; and this is what the Government of Burma has done with marked success in the past. But the Government of India holds the purse-strings, hence Lord Minto's visit to the province in November affords a splendid opportunity for bringing financial and other matters under his personal observation. And no doubt the representations about to be made to him from various quarters will in the immediate future lead to further rapid progress in many ways that both directly and indirectly affect the trade, development, and prosperity of Burma, and the comfort and happiness of both the lotus-eating and the more energetic portions of its population.

## LIFT IRRIGATION IN INDIA.\*

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

THE subject of securing a good and abundant water-supply of as permanent a character as possible for India is the most important matter for consideration that anyone can take up, for the whole prosperity and welfare of its population depends entirely in securing this object. Over 80 per cent. of this population are employed in agriculture, and the success of it depends altogether, in all countries, on the water-supply being good and abundant for all concerned in this occupation. It was, then, with great interest we read Mr. Chatterton's able treatise, and have every respect for his earnest endeavours and zeal to benefit the peoples of South India, but we are constrained to say, with much regret, that we cannot agree with him in this matter of lifting water for the purpose of supplying it in any abundance to promote agriculture in South India.

In the *first* place, underground supplies of water are very uncertain, and all experience everywhere shows this is liable to fail; even good artesian wells in the London Basin it is well known have failed, and their supply is constantly diminishing. The cost of raising water from any depth is liable to be constantly increasing, whilst the quantity is decreasing.

In the *next* place, well or spring water contains very little or no fertilizing matter, whereas the water obtained from rivers in floods, or stored in large reservoirs, has always an abundance of matter which fertilizes the soil.

In "Spon's Sinking and Boring for Wells," it is said the primary rocks afford generally but little water, etc., p. 9, and as these rocks exist very largely in South India, such experiments are not likely to yield good results, except in favourable localities; but this would be of little use to the

\* "Lift Irrigation," by Alfred Chatterton, Professor of Engineering on Special Duty, Madras. G. A. Nateson and Co., Esplanade, Madras.

people in general. The lucky owner of any such find would secure it for himself only.

Again, the experience gained in the arid regions of the United States of America is of little use to us in South India; their rainfall is exceedingly scant, and water is so necessary it is sought for at any expense. In South India, on the contrary, the rainfall on the Western Ghats is generally most abundant, and maintains a good supply of water in all the great rivers of the country during the south-west monsoon seasons. This supply decreases at other times just as it does in the Nile valley, which receives its water-supply from the same source as in South India, and it has been determined there by all experience to construct reservoirs on the largest scale to provide a full supply throughout the year; and our safest way is to follow the example set us in Egypt, for fortunately in South India we have many sites for such reservoirs which can be easily constructed. Already a commencement is being made, for the Bombay Government are about to construct large reservoirs on the tributaries of the Godavery River within the limits of their territories. It is to be feared nothing more will be done for many years in this most favourable basin, which has an average annual rainfall of 50 inches, because the land settlements have been so stupidly made as to preclude all improvements, for the present at all events. However, it is not our purpose now to deal with the larger rivers of South India; we will endeavour to show that along the east coast, where water is much required, and will be thankfully received, an abundance of water can be obtained by storing water on the largest possible scale.

For this purpose I will take the Palar River in the North Arcot District. The chief tributary of this river is the Poinee River, having a catchment area of about 1,600 square miles of steep hilly country. At Chittor the *maximum* rainfall registered in thirty-five years was 64.33 inches in 1903, and at Palmanair, in the same basin, it was 54.15 inches in the same year. The mean of these years is

59.29 inches, and considering the intensity of the rainfall in the tropics in such seasons, we may assume the run-off would be about 48 inches, or  $1\frac{1}{3}$  yards in depth. The catchment area is 1,600 square miles, or 4,800 million square yards, and the quantity run-off will be 6,400 million cubic yards of water, allowing 1,400 cubic yards to remain in the reservoirs for the hot weather. There would be 5,000 million cubic yards available for irrigation purposes, enough of 500,000 acres of paddy cultivation for one crop, and for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million acres of ordinary dry crops, to mature them in ordinary seasons.

Near Chittor there are favourable sites for three reservoirs—two on the main tributaries of the Poinée, and one on the river itself. At the village of Poinée, about twelve or fifteen miles below Chittor, there is a good site for a reservoir, into which the waters of the upper reservoirs must be run by gravitation; and this reservoir should be made not only high enough to receive some drainage from the intervening lands, but high enough so that a channel can be led from it, along the left bank only of the Poinée River, to the head of the drainage supplying the tank near Sholinghur, whence it can be distributed over the whole basin of the Corteliar River, down to the city of Madras itself to increase the water-supply for its large population. But the above is not all that can be done in the basin of the Palar River. On the Gudiatam River and its tributary are sites for two reservoirs; near Ambon Droog there is another site for a reservoir; about Chimia Droog and on the Palar itself are two more sites; and on the right bank of this river, north of Vellore, there is a site for a reservoir. Speaking roughly, some 5,000 million cubic yards of water might be stored on these reservoirs, and the water allowed to flow down by gravitation to the anikut now supplying the Caweripauk tank. The surplus of this apparently runs into the Corteliar River, and is thence diverted towards the Chumbrumbankum tank and the Madras or Triplicane River. If 2,000 million cubic yards are retained in these



reservoirs for a hot-weather supply, there would remain 3,000 million cubic yards of water available for all irrigation purposes, or for a water-supply to the villages and towns in this area, as well as for the city of Madras.

In the basin of the Corteliar River, near Muddur Droog, there is a good site for a reservoir. The catchment area above is about 400 square miles, or 1,200 million square yards; the rainfall here is not so heavy, apparently, as about the Pulmanair Hills, but we may assume that 1 yard, or 36 inches, of the *maximum* rainfall is available for storage purposes. The reservoir might, then, be made large enough to contain 1,200 million cubic yards of water, allowing 400 millions to be retained in this reservoir for the hot weather, and to keep the Red Hill reservoir well supplied with water for the use of the city of Madras. There would be still available for irrigation purposes 800 million cubic yards of water, enough for 80,000 acres of paddy land for one crop, or for 400,000 acres of the ordinary crops of the country.

For sugar-cane cultivation certain regulations must be made, which the Government must enforce. This cultivation requires a ten months' supply of water, and the distribution of the water will have to be so arranged that a monopoly shall not go to any favoured locality. With this we have no more to do, but we believe we have shown that a good supply of water can be secured on the east coast of India from the numerous rivers which drain the Eastern Ghauts by a good system of reservoirs, if these are only made large enough to secure as much as possible of the *maximum* rainfall available on this coast, and far more certainly than by any number of wells, which are very costly and always liable to failure. We have purposely used the *maximum* rainfall, because the water is there, and afforded for our use and benefit, and we should make the greatest use of it. In India the people have made their tanks large enough to supply the needs of each village generally, with waste-weir large enough to waste the water in seasons

of heavy rains as rapidly as possible to save their bunds, which are never very good. There is no reason why we should not reverse this practice, store all the water we possibly can by constructing large solid masonry dams on the rivers themselves, and connecting these with earthen bunds to the adjacent hills or high grounds. That this principle is the right one to adopt in India has been very fully established by the success of the Nagpur waterworks, which were established nearly thirty years ago, and have always afforded a good and abundant supply of water, though the catchment area is a small one, and by no means so steep as on the Ghauts of the east coast of India; but all experience obtained on those works goes to show that we can store an abundance of *surface water* in a very satisfactory and economical manner for all general purposes.

Finally, Mr. Chatterton considers a good supply of water can be obtained from the water flowing in the sandy beds of Indian rivers, which is well known to be very considerable in quantity. I do not find he has observed what has been done for this purpose in the arid regions of the United States, so I will just mention one case which may be of some service in India. They bored through the sandy bed of one of their rivers to ascertain at what depth the rocky bed existed on which the sand rested; finding this, they built a watertight dam on it to intercept the water flowing in the sandy bed of the river, and compel it to rise to the surface, when it could be easily led off to the adjacent land. The operation will be expensive, but it might be adopted in places where no good site for a large reservoir can be found.

## THE FUTURE OF NIGERIA: AN ECONOMIC JUSTIFICATION OF THE "BARO-KANO" RAILWAY.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD,  
Author of "The Lower Niger and Its Tribes," etc.

To the man behind the scenes, be he administrator or merchant, the proposed scheme of the Baro-Kano Railway is not in any special want either of a plea or a justification. Even to the outsider it must be obvious enough that no substantial increase can possibly accrue to the commerce of any new country—even if that new country is cram full of natural products and raw material—until the cheapest and most practicable means are adapted and developed to enable merchants to place such commodities on the markets of the world. It wants no economic expert or political specialist to tell us that to do without railways would be a clear case of expecting the mountain to go to Mohammed; whereas obviously what is needed is that Mohammed should go to the mountain. It would at first, therefore, seem a superfluous matter that the Cabinet, through Mr. Winston Churchill, should have been obliged to enter into such lengthy and detailed explanations as it has recently done. But political precedent and considerations apart, the reasons which have guided them have no doubt been sound and necessary, especially when so large a burden as £1,300,000 is laid upon a country that morally and politically is in every advanced sense an infant. For in spite of the strong case the Government has made out in justification of its wise and statesmanlike measure, it is always open to party mongers and those in opposition to make political capital out of certain debatable factors. Thus, this very vulnerable factor of infancy, as well as of the indebtedness of Northern Nigeria to the Imperial

Treasury to the annual figure of something like £300,000, are most indubitably elements out of which an attack on the flank might easily be organized. Not that I am for a moment suggesting such a step on the part of the opposition. Yet to the man who knows, these facts—big and ugly as they appear to loom—are merely mole-hills, that only for “party purposes” it might be convenient to convert into “mountains” or “bomb-shells.” As I am now about to show, however, they are mountains rather of mist, or, better still, inflated air-bubbles.

But all the better to understand the position, it is necessary that the reader should first get a clear grasp of the geographical outline of the country, and then of its economic products and resources. Assuming that the average reader has mastered the first of these two very important considerations, it will only be necessary for me to point out one absolutely essential feature. This is that, primarily from a geographical standpoint, and secondarily on the soundest basis of statesmanship, the amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria is indispensable—that it is, in fact, inevitable. Therefore, the sooner it is done the better in every sense for the natives and the commercial prospects of the entire area, so that it is quite unnecessary to enter into any detailed explanation of what is too obvious a truth.

Admitting, then, that from a geographical and political aspect the construction of the Baro-Kano Railway is justified, it will now be my endeavour to verify and substantiate this statement by placing before the reader certain facts and figures regarding the material resources of the country that, from the economic basis, will, I think, in every sense accentuate this justification. It is important, however, at the outset for the reader to understand that at present I am only dealing with the Northern section of this great Dependency. It is chiefly as a market for this production of raw material that Northern Nigeria will finally assume its place amongst the countries of the world—this, too, in

spite of the fact that its local industries even at this moment possess considerably more than a local importance. But this consummation cannot possibly take place until a proper system of railways, with all its necessary feeders and adjuncts in the form of roads and waterways, has been organized from the interior to the sea—to the practically ready-made and accessible harbours of the Old Calabar and Forcados Rivers, in conjunction, of course, with the line that is about to connect Kano with the distinctly inferior sea outlet of Lagos. Then the trade in raw material, which will have been gradually developing, will naturally be diverted from the great industrial centres to the nearest railway depots, and it is safe to infer from this a steady decline in native manufactures, which at present certainly represents a pretty considerable local trade. In support of this assertion the reader must realize that agriculture is at present most undoubtedly the principal occupation of the people. Indeed, in many parts of the country they are skilful agriculturists, well and practically versed in the principles of irrigation. This is particularly the case in the neighbourhood of Kano, also in the Bornu Province and the Wobi valley, where wheat is successfully raised. Fields are not only fenced in, but the ground is cleared of roots and all growth, so that, as the country is adapted to draught animals, there is no practical obstruction to the use of ploughs. In the Sokoto province the undulating country in many places reminds one, to some extent, of an English landscape. Between Zaria and Kano the roads in parts, lined with ditches and hedges—generally of a species of cactus—are not at all unlike our own country lanes. Dhurra is grown very extensively all over the country, and in some provinces two crops are raised annually, for it is practically the staple diet of the people. Wheat, maize, millet, sugar-cane, cassada, onions, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts, rice, beans, kola, yams, pepper, tobacco, cotton, and indigo are also widely cultivated. In addition to these, however, other products, such as wax, shea-butter, palm oil, gums, dyes, fibres,



sandalwood oil, and tanned skins may be reckoned with as forming the basis of a remunerative trade in the near future. But this, of course, depends entirely on the cheapening of transport, and the construction of main and lateral communications. That Northern Nigeria in general, but certain portions of it in particular, is an ideal country for cotton cultivation is a fact already too well known to need any special comment from me. It is also quite palpable that the construction of the Baro-Kano Railway in connexion with the extension of the Lagos Railway is, in itself, an earnest of what is to come—more than sufficient evidence as to the great and imperial success that deservedly lies before the British Cotton-Growing Association. It is, in fact, the coming event that is but casting before it the shadow of the substantiality that is to be. But it is not on Cotton alone that the future of Nigeria depends. With a population of about 15,000,000, an area of over 350,000 square miles, and a soil that varies in parts—to say nothing of other variable conditions—it would be impolitic, if not fatuous, to place all its economic eggs in one basket, be that basket ever so wide and roomy. If only our West African rulers are wise and far-seeing, if only they will teach the young native idea what and how to cultivate, and if our merchants will show the same business acumen and energy they have hitherto shown in other parts of the world, there is room and opportunity for many more payable industries; for, putting to one side the industries of timber, tobacco, rubber, and indigo—which, to say the least of it, now have within them the promise of a healthy future—the cultivation of cocoa, maize, and ground-nuts on a large scale—industries which now are only in their infancy—are industries the extent of which it would be absolutely impossible to predict or even approximate.

There is, too, a decided wealth of shea in various localities of the Protectorate, but more particularly in the Kabba province and between Ilorin and the Niger, that both locally and as an export can undoubtedly be turned to account.

But besides all this great agricultural wealth, there is another and substantial aspect to the vital question of development. This is the important fact that in the country that lies within Bida and Wushishi large herds of goats, sheep, cattle, and horses are bred. It is, however, in the province of Sokoto, but specially in the immediate vicinity of the town, that the raising of livestock is most successfully carried out. Indeed, in the latter district alone—a part merely of the whole—over 100,000 head of cattle, averaging more than a year old, were registered in 1906; and as a promise of future developments in this direction, it is certainly significant that a large and increasing trade already exists between Sokoto and the western province (Lagos) of Southern Nigeria.

So, too, with regard to the economic products, without taking into consideration the great sylvan wealth of what is now known as Southern Nigeria, it is at present in no sense possible even to guess roughly at either the amount or the variety of the treasure that lies hidden within the limits of the Northern territories. In this respect it is in the basin of the Benue that the greatest wealth will be discovered. Here are extensive areas of forest stretching in a wide belt almost to the foot of the southern slopes of the Lanthan, containing quantities of rubber and a variety of timber suitable for building purposes. In these vast forests products such as bark, gum, resin, dye-woods, ornamental woods of the description of ebony and mahogany, also plants from which copaiba, strychnine, strophanthin, and other drugs can be extracted, are obtainable. But in addition to this, the Lanthan is very productive of certain minerals. Tinstone alluvium—so far as is at present known—is limited to the comparatively small area comprised by the plateaux of Tilde, Rukuba, Jos, and Ngell. Metallic tin is frequently found in small quantities in the gravel and sands of the River Delime. Lead ores in the form of galena and cerusite are also obtained in the Bauchi province. These are pulverized, packed in bags,

and sent by the natives to Badiki, where they are smelted into bars, which find their way to the important marts of Kano and Bida. Salt in a very pure state is extracted from the brine springs in the Muri province, and competes very favourably with the English minerals. Magnetic iron ore and brown hæmatite can be obtained in many parts, but especially between Bauchi and Kano. Here a small local industry is carried on by means of charcoal, on very similar lines to the old industry of the Sussex weald. Flat, heavyish discs, a composition principally of nitrates, chlorides, and sulphates of sodium, also certain salts of potassium, are traded with from Kuka, near Chad, to Kano, and from the latter place they are distributed all over the Western Sudan. Last, but by no means least, the fact that limestone has been discovered in various parts of Northern Nigeria, including the vicinity of Zaria—which is most probably destined to become almost its greatest trading centre—is in a commercial sense doubly important, an event, in fact, of the first magnitude. First, because in connexion with building it obviates the necessity of importing cement—a weighty and extensive article in a country where the transport of material is bound for a long period to be restricted and extravagant. Secondly, because in the prosecution of a profitable mining industry scientists maintain that three substances are necessary, one of which is limestone, to be utilized as a flux. Up to the present moment, however, according to the consensus of expert opinion, it is extremely doubtful whether Northern Nigeria will ever attain to any real importance as a mineral-producing country, unless substantial discoveries of the precious metals are made. But it is in reality impossible at present to arrive at any just or definite conclusion on this point, for the very logical and significant reason that so far the exploitation of the country has been only rudimentary and superficial. Indeed, in this direction the real work of the prospector and the surveyor within the more remote interior has yet to begin in earnest. This, however, is a point that

in no sense whatever interferes with its future development ; for unquestionably that depends absolutely and entirely on the development of the cultivated and natural products into great commercial industries.\*

But there yet remains to discuss a very salient factor in regard to the material resources of Northern Nigeria that is bound to exercise a very significant influence on its development. This is the number and the size of the towns or trading centres which it possesses. Commencing with Lokoja, it is not possible to overrate its importance, either economically or strategically. That it is bound to be the military head-quarters, if not the administrative capital, of the country is, I think, obvious. As the actual gateway of the Northern division of Nigeria, it commands the entire outlet of the Benue—a valley that in material wealth will, if anything, prove of greater commercial consequence than the middle Niger valley itself : therefore is certain to draw all the trade of that great basin. Indeed, even should the Germans succeed in tapping the latter from the Amar and Kamerun end, Lokoja, although it may be shorn of some of its trade, will, by virtue of its natural situation and an increasing population, still retain a commanding position.

In Bida, the centre of the well-developed agricultural plain of Nupe, we have a place of great importance, for beside this very natural advantage, the fact that it is in touch with Baro, which is accessible to steam vessels all the year round, enhances its commercial value.

Kano is now, of course, the commercial capital of the Western Sudan. With a history of over a thousand years at its back, it has some time since usurped the place of Katsena—then about the greatest of West African slave markets—which was obliged to give way before the power

\* It will be as well here to make a note of certain great possibilities that lie before the present Southern Nigeria. These are in the direction of the petroleum finds that have been made there. For it is obvious that, if they answer the anticipations of the engineering experts, the economic wealth of Nigeria from this one source alone will be assured beyond all question. This, too, irrespective of its other great resources.



of the conquering Fulani. The meeting-place from all points of the compass of Kurd and Kaffir, Kano is at present a great inland centre which monopolizes the trade of an extensive area. But in addition to this, it is the centre of a highly cultivated district, which extends for a radius of at least 100 miles. Inside this area, the practice of agriculture and irrigation, particularly the cultivation of cotton, are thoroughly well understood and carried out. For years past an assemblage of something like 20,000 people on an average have collected daily in its market-place for the sole purpose of trade. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that for centuries past it has been famed from the Mediterranean to the Bight of Benin on account of its cotton cloths, its dyes, and above all its leather. But the opening of the projected railway is bound to exercise a most subversive effect on the present monopoly that it enjoys ; for gradually but surely it will tend to divert the present concentration of the trade in untanned skins from Kano to the succession of lesser towns that are situated on the proposed line of route. In this way a deadly blow will be dealt at its leather industry, all the more so because tanning can be more economically and thoroughly manufactured in England. It is obvious, therefore, that Kano ultimately must diminish considerably in importance.

But what it loses will in a great measure be the gain of Zaria. For as I have already intimated, Zaria is destined to become the most central point of importance. There are several reasons to be advanced in favour of a statement so seemingly dogmatic as this. One or two of the principal, however, will suffice, for apart from its naturally important position, situated as Zaria is on the main or Grand Trunk road of commerce, it stands in the centre of a rich agricultural and industrial district, which even now yields the future staple of export ; it will be easily accessible by the railway to the sea ; and standing as it does at an elevation of over 2,000 feet, with the exception of certain heights (of 4,000 feet) in the Bauchi highlands, it is probably one of



the healthiest spots in Nigeria. If these conclusions are ever justified, it is easy to predict that some day Zaria will exceed in importance any other town in the interior of Western Africa. Lastly, there is Sokoto, the former capital of the great Fulani race, a city with a great and historical past, and even to this day the centre in this part of the world of the Mohammedan faith. Important, as we have seen it is, as being the capital of the great pastoral province, Sokoto also promises to become a probable centre with regard to ostrich-farming on a large scale. Further, there is in the neighbourhood of the town a considerable area of swampy ground, which at no great expense could be drained and prepared for the cultivation of rice. There are, of course, many other points which could be discussed in connexion with local manufactures, the present comparative insignificance of European trade with the interior, the Caravan, but especially the Tripoli-Kano trade, the general attitude of the natives, and of existing conditions, but for the present I think I have said enough. So far I have only dealt with facts, and purposely avoided all reference to figures, simply because in the present transitional stage of Northern Nigerian affairs, figures—incomplete and imperfect, as of necessity they are bound to be—cannot possibly be anything more than hypothetical. Yet it is possible they may assist us to some extent in arriving at least at some tolerably satisfactory conclusions. Let us, to begin with, examine some of the figures placed before us by Sir Frederick Lugard in his last annual report. Here we find that in 1899-1900 the revenue for one quarter amounted only to £38, in 1900-1901 to £2,180, in 1901-1902 to £4,424; but in 1902-1903 it is noticeable that the revenue has almost quadrupled itself, amounting to £16,316, and that in 1903-1904 this again had risen to £53,726, and in 1904-1905 to the still larger amount of £94,026. Further, we find that, while in 1905-1906 the revenue had only been estimated at £84,400, the amount of £110,287 had been already received at the time of writing the report.

This means that the yearly average rate of fiscal progression has, roughly speaking, been a matter of £20,000, or at the rate of 40 per cent., in face of the greatest political and economic obstacles, that is to say, of a country in which anarchy and chaos had been rife for years, and in which the principal means of transport available were carriers. This means, too, that headway had to be made without any facilities or advantages; on the contrary, against a steady and determined native opposition and an already existing system of local trade and manufactures, and, in addition to this, an excessive expenditure, due chiefly to the necessity of maintaining an efficient and mobile military force, and of costly but unavoidable punitive expeditions.

On these premisses we can assume that, even at the rate above given, the revenue of Northern Nigeria would amount at the end of four years from now to £220,000. But if we allow for the fact that during each of these years 100 miles of the Baro-Kano railway per year shall have been opened to traffic, it is safe to predict that by the time it has reached Kano, the revenue—which at the present rate of progression would amount to £300,000—will at the lowest computation have increased by another £100,000. But in trying to arrive at even an approximate estimate of this or other increase, it is only possible to do so by taking four other factors into consideration.

The first of these is the abnormal rate of progression that has been already shown in the exportation of cotton. Thus, for example, out of Lagos alone the export has risen from 500 bales in 1903 to 12,000 bales in 1907. This will enable us to realize that with only moderate expansion Lagos will be in a position—within the next decade—to export something like 300,000 to 350,000 bales of cotton. Again, this means that West African exports will receive, as a direct outcome of this alone, an increase of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  millions to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions—all of it money spent in trade. And this, we must remember, would be but the beginning of an immense self-sustaining industry, that would convert the present

extensive wastes into a prosperous and flourishing domain. To make this still more obvious, let us examine the Lagos exports of other cultivated products—chiefly cocoa, maize, coffee, and ground-nuts. These, which include cotton, have risen from £1,800 in 1896 to £8,500 in 1901, £43,607 in 1904, £63,796 in 1905, and to £98,295 in 1906. These figures refer only to the old Lagos colony, the present western province, and do not include the exports of the central and eastern provinces, which read as follows :

1904.	1905.	1906.
£12,783	£13,281	£31,904

But further comment here is useless, for data such as this makes it obvious that the exports of local cultivated produce is a largely and steadily increasing quantity that only needs proper development to convert the present thousands into millions.

The third consideration that we have to handle is the fact that it is impossible to deal with this question from a financial aspect, unless Southern and Northern Nigeria be treated as a fiscal whole. But let us, for a few brief moments, examine only the resources of the former. A reference to the last trade report reveals the very substantial fact that the total trade of Southern Nigeria in 1906 was £6,299,689, with a revenue of £885,108. A comparison of these figures with those of 1905 shows an increase in trade over that year of £709,934, and in revenue of £97,476. At this rate, and without taking any of the factors of development into consideration, the trade and revenue of Southern Nigeria will in four years have, respectively, increased by at least £3,000,000 and £400,000—or, in exact figures, £2,839,736 and £381,904. So that the total trade will then amount to a figure ranging between £9,000,000 and £10,000,000, and the revenue to something over £1,250,000; or with the revenue of Northern Nigeria added to this, to a matter of some £1,600,000. Indeed, according to Sir Walter Egerton's financial estimate, the

revenue for Southern Nigeria during 1907 is expected to realize £1,120,000.

But this is altogether exclusive of such accretion as may be legitimately expected from developments in various directions. Thus, for instance, while the Baro-Kano Railway is opening up the northern area, we must allow for the fact that the extension of the Lagos Railway will in the course of four years have been carried to the extremely populous centre of Ilorin, or possibly a point even further northward, and ultimately across the Niger to Zungeru. Besides this, the construction of main side-roads, as feeders to the railways, and the improvement of traffic on the rivers, that is all the time steadily going on—to say nothing of the ever-increasing aptitude of the natives towards trade—must of necessity be taken into account; for these expansions and developments are bound to have a marked—indeed striking—effect on trade, not only by whetting the appetites and increasing the wants and requirements of the natives, but by stimulating them to increased endeavours. In a word, increase of labour will result in an increase of wealth, the division of which will rest with ourselves as the buyers or manufacturers, and the natives as growers and producers.

Standing as labour does for wealth, the fourth question, of population, is a factor that in no economic sense can be overlooked; for a wealth of material such as I have shown Nigeria to possess is naturally useless without a sufficiency of labour to produce it. Taking its northern and southern divisions separately, I am not outside the mark when I place their populations respectively at 9,000,000 and 6,000,000. In the next decade, however, with the present peaceful settlement of the latter, which is daily increasing, and the steadily improving condition of the former, an increase of some few millions may safely be anticipated. It is, therefore, in no sense unreasonable to predict that in the second decade from now the population will have doubled itself; because, apart from the undoubted physical vitality of the



people, there is every reason to infer that improved social conditions will not only mean the salvation of thousands of lives yearly—*i.e.*, a marked decrease in the death-rate—but it will also mean a large and decided increase in the birth-rate; so that it is logical to assume that the supply of labour will certainly be equal to the demand. But there is yet a fifth, and, in an economic sense, an equally important factor, to consider. This is the question as to whether these Nigerian railways will be (1) self-supporting, (2) in a position to pay off the capital that has been invested in their construction.

Judging by our experience in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast Colony, and Lagos, it must be admitted at the outset that the outlook does not appear to be particularly rosy. But without going into any details, it will, I think, be conceded that the development of railways in new countries with barbaric or primitive conditions is of necessity a slow matter; for the natives, it must be remembered, are conservative to an extreme, also slow and suspicious to a degree. Time, in fact—as it always is in every question of moment—is a most essential factor. Admitting all this, however, if we look at the table of progression which has been made by the Lagos Railway, it is at once obvious that, when due allowances are made for these and other obstacles, it has, on the whole, so far done remarkably well, more especially when the following very serious drawbacks are taken into consideration: (1) Its extravagant cost at the average rate of £6,000 per mile; (2) the drawbacks of Lagos as a harbour, and the consequent difficulties and expense of carriage on material resulting therefrom on account of transshipment and steamship monopolies; (3) the fact that even the Oshogbo extension has not carried the railway far enough into the interior to tap a sufficiently extensive area; (4) the recent depression in trade for a season or two, especially in 1904-1905; (5) the fact that the railway has not yet been properly supplied with trade roads as feeders.



Yet even with all these very considerable disadvantages against it, the gross earnings of the Lagos Railway have risen from £43,312 in 1902 to £84,663 in 1906, and the net earnings from £4,504 to £24,368. The main sources of this revenue have been derived chiefly from goods and coaching, which have increased, respectively, from £27,302 and £15,375 in 1902, to £62,957 and £20,537 in 1906. A searching investigation into these figures demonstrates that the financial result of the operations in 1906 is equal to a return of 1·98 per cent. on the actual total capital outlay incurred on the railway, exclusive of expenditure on the Iddo Wharf extension, and the Carter and Denton Road bridges. The net amount earned, however, is sufficient to pay 3·10 per cent. per annum on a capital cost of £6,000 a mile, on the mean mileage opened to public traffic and worked during that year. Fortunately, however, the railway management are very hopeful that the extension now in progress may be built within the limit of this figure; but in all and similar cases the economist must look ahead, and in doing so he may take for granted, with some probability, that in the period between 1911 and 1917, when the Lagos and the Baro-Kano Railways have reached their intended limits, there is certainly a very reasonable prospect that even the former railway, handicapped as it is on account of the heavy initial capital which has been expended on it, will prove a remunerative investment. It is possible, therefore, to surmise that the latter railway, constructed as it is going to be at half the expense, will then earn sufficient to pay something like 6 per cent. on its capital. Further, that it will much more rapidly repay the cost of its construction, so that in time it can be improved to meet such new requirements and conditions as will be imposed on it by fresh developments.

Taking all these very important factors into our calculation, it is tolerably safe, therefore, to assume that, at a yearly increase of £1,500,000, the total trade of Nigeria will in 1917 (*i.e.*, six years after Kano has been

placed in direct touch with the sea) amount to some £22,000,000, with a yearly minimum revenue of £3,000,000. When, however, the railway system—which Nigeria's own resources will eventually entitle it to—shall have been completed, when the interior as a whole has got its natural outlet to the sea through the two great natural harbours of Calabar and Forcados—Nigeria will not only rank next in importance after India and South Africa, but will become one of the greatest economic assets of the British Empire; for when these developments have been made, Nigeria will finally assume its destined place amongst the countries of the world as one of its greatest producers of raw material.

But to arrive at even an approximate estimate of what its trade will then amount to would at present be practically impossible, certainly hypothetical. I have, however, said quite enough to show that, not only is Northern Nigeria a land of great and magnificent promise, not only is the Baro-Kano Railway an absolute necessity, the construction of which is amply justified, but that in an economic, therefore widely catholic and Imperial sense, its development deserves in every way even much greater encouragement and stimulus from the British Government than has yet been conceded to it.

## COOLIE EDUCATION IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

By A. G. WISE.

ON December 7, 1903, I had the privilege of reading a paper on the above subject before the East India Association, Sir Lepel Griffin, the Chairman of the Council, presiding on that occasion in the unavoidable absence of Lord Reay. So far as Ceylon is concerned, it is highly satisfactory to record that an Ordinance has been passed, which will be brought into operation on January 1, 1908, and which will, it is anticipated, go far towards providing education in the vernacular for every Tamil child employed on the plantations.

It may be noted that, where schools already exist, the owners of estates are not bound to provide a fresh school; while several estates can, if the superintendents choose, combine to provide a joint school. The most essential clauses of this new Ordinance (Ordinance No. 8 of 1907) read as follows :

"29. It shall be the duty of the superintendent of every estate to provide for the vernacular education of the children of the labourers employed on the estate between the ages of six and ten, and to set apart and keep in repair a suitable schoolroom.

"30. (1) Every superintendent shall, before the expiration of six months from the date when Part V. of this Ordinance comes into force, forward to the Director of Public Instruction a return showing the following particulars, namely :

"(a) The number of the boys and girls, being the children of labourers employed on the estate, between the ages of six and ten.

"(b) The number of such boys and girls who attended school during the twelve months ending on December 31

last preceding the date when this part of the Ordinance came into force.

"(c) The number of days during such period on which school was held.

"(d) The description of the building in which instruction was given.

"(2) Such returns shall be made on forms which will be furnished by the Director of Public Instruction on the application of superintendents, free of charge."

The school teachers will have to keep a careful register, open for inspection whenever required. Should a planter prove remiss, the Governor can authorize an official to enter the estate, erect a suitable schoolroom, and provide the instruction, the cost being recoverable in the same manner as is provided under the Ceylon Medical Wants Ordinance. The new law bears the title, "An Ordinance to Make Provision in Rural and Planting Districts for the Education of Children in the Vernacular Languages."

As a result of the attention given to this subject locally, the Director of Public Instruction was able, in his report for 1906, to record some progress, as compared with the previous year.

At the end of 1906 there were ninety aided estate schools; at the end of the previous year the number was seventy-eight. The number of estate schools actually examined for grant was eighty-one, as compared with sixty-six in the previous year. As in the previous year, a form was circulated to collect information from planters. Returns have been received from 920 estates, and show a total number of 6,748 children receiving instruction on the estates, of whom 6,082 are boys and 666 are girls. There are 164 estates on which there are what may be called schools held either in special bungalows or in rooms provided for the purpose by the estates. In seventy-six cases it is reported that instruction is given in coolie lines.

All this is extremely gratifying, although, personally, it would, I consider, have been better to have made attendance

at these new schools compulsory. It is, nevertheless, a very great step in advance, with which reformers may well rest satisfied for the present.

#### EDUCATION ON INDIAN TEA-GARDENS.

In the case of Ceylon, it may be remembered, when the question was first raised, the official view was that no change was necessary. Two successive Directors of Public Instruction reported on the subject; it was referred to two, if not three, special Commissions; innumerable despatches were penned, and cablegrams exchanged between the Colonial Office and the Government of Ceylon. In India matters move more slowly, and so far only the reporting stage has been reached.

Captain Kennedy was deputed to make an official report on education on tea estates in Eastern Bengal and Assam to the provincial Government. His report has been submitted and referred back to the Committee of the Indian Tea Association for an expression of their views. This Committee are of opinion that it is essential to the success of whatever action may be taken that the co-operation of garden managers should be obtained, and they urge that any system which would entail the loss to a family of the earnings of the children would meet with opposition on the part of the coolies. The ordinary Government Lower Primary School would, accordingly, not appear to be suitable; and this view—as is evident from the report—is taken by the planting community in general.

With regard to the language to be taught in the schools, the General Committee were of opinion that instruction should be given in the coolies' own vernacular. It might certainly be desirable that Bengali or Assamese should be taught, as in all probability most of the children will remain in the province; but it had to be remembered that not only would the schools be attended by children, but also by adult coolies, who would be anxious to receive instruction in their own language to allow of their communicating with their



people. The question of the language to be taught in particular schools might, however—as suggested by Captain Kennedy—be usefully left to the discretion of the manager of the estate, who would naturally be in a position to know what would best suit the majority of his coolies.

Captain Kennedy proposed for the consideration of the planting community three types of school. The majority of the planters in the Assam Valley expressed their preference for the unaided school of the type (c), while in the Surma Valley opinion has favoured the private-aided school of the type (b). After consideration the General Committee rather favoured the latter type. While recognizing the arguments advanced on behalf of type (c) and agreeing that the schools should be as free as possible of Government supervision, they thought that the State should be prepared to pay the entire cost of the scheme, as suggested by Captain Kennedy.

With reference to the annual examinations to be held by the inspectors, the General Committee agreed that these should be considered sufficient, unless the garden manager should request that his school be regularly inspected: the annual examination should be arranged for a period of the year which will give each individual school a chance of doing itself justice, as it would obviously not give satisfactory results were the visits to certain schools arranged so that they should come soon after a long vacation. A certain amount of revision will require to be done at the beginning of each session—as it cannot be expected that, for some time at least, the children will carry over all they have learnt from one session to another. While this would make it advantageous to have the vacation reduced as much as possible, the Committee thought that the education offered would be less likely to prove distasteful were a long vacation given during the busy season to allow of the children adding to their parents' income, than if an attempt were made to keep the schools open during that time.

Government have been invited to communicate to the

Association their proposals in the matter before taking definite action.

The foregoing report seems to prove that there is at least a likelihood of action being taken, but I would urge that an unreasonable time be not allowed to elapse. It is now nearly four years since I first drew the attention of the Indian Government to this urgent reform, and it should now be possible for them to follow the good example set by Mr. Ferguson, Sir Henry Blake, and the Government of Ceylon.

## THE GHAZALS OF HÁFIZ.

BY A. ROGERS.

IN translating these poems I have chosen for my text the edition printed in Vienna in 1863, and translated into German verse by Ritter Vincenz von Rosenzweig-Schwannau, which edition has a number of valuable notes added by the same translator. It is printed with the original Persian on one side and the German on the opposite page, and contains, in addition to his Ghazals, the Masnasis, the Rubáiyát, the Mukatta'át; the Sáki-námah, or book of the cupbearer; the Mughanni Námah, or book of the singer; the Kasidahs; and the Mukhammas, or five-lined odes.

I propose at present to deal with the Ghazals alone. These are 573 in number, and are classified together, not according to European ideas with lines beginning with the letters of the alphabet commencing with Aleph, and ending with Yá, but according to the terminal words of every second line in each, ending with those letters in succession, with the exception of two or three, for which appropriate words could apparently not be found. It would, of course, be quite impossible to find in any foreign language words that would conform to such a system, and I have accordingly made the translation throughout in rhymed *bayts*, or couplets (with a few exceptions in four-lined metre), as the most convenient and adaptable under the circumstances, and most familiar to English readers.

Háfiz,\* whose real name was Shamsuddin (Sun of the Faith) Muhammad, was an inhabitant of Shiráz, and spent the greater part of his life there. Ferishtah, the historian, relates that he was once invited to visit him by Mahmúd Shah Bahmani, King of the Deccan, and, accepting his invitation, proceeded to the island of Hormuz on his way, but was so terrified at the look of the sea when he was about to embark on board ship there that he turned back

\* This is in reality his *takhallus*, or poetical name, and means the "Preserver," as he was said to know the Qorán by heart.

and returned to Shiráz. He is by common consent considered the chief of Persian lyric-writers, but he also ranked high as a Súfi, or mystic, and a spiritual symbolism is accordingly supposed to underlie the expression of sensuous ideas contained in the Anacreontic strains that abundantly pervade his writings. In fact, there was no other way of accounting for the constant recurrence of such ideas even in the minds of his contemporaries, and the story is commonly current that his burial as an orthodox Mussulman was only allowed as the result of an act of divination, not unusually resorted to, by thrusting a knife into the pages of the book of the Diván, and the indication by this process of this passage, translated by Bicknell as follows, from Ghazal 41, under letter Te :

"Wish not to turn away thy foot from Háfiz or his bier :  
He shall ascend to Paradise, though steeped in sin while here."

The literal translation is :

"Withdraw not thou thy foot from Háfiz' corpse ; though he be drowned  
In his own sins, he still for Paradise is bound."

Háfiz was born in the beginning of the eighth century of the Híjra, or the fourteenth of the Christian era, and his writings were spread over the whole interval between the times of Sheikh Abu Ishák, who reigned from A.H. 742 to A.H. 754, and Mansúr, the last of the Muzaffaris (A.H. 790 to 795). Háfiz died in A.H. 791 or 792. The first of these dates is recorded by Muhammad Zulandám, a friend of Háfiz, who collected the writings together into the Diván, or collection of poems. The date of 791 is inscribed on the tomb of Háfiz, and is conveyed in the chronograms in this line :

"Chú dar Khák-i-Musallá sákht manzil  
Bejú tárikhash az Khák-i-Musallá ;"

freely rendered, meaning :

"In Musallá in dust since he reclined,  
In Khák-i-Musallá its date you'll find ;"

or,

("Since he his home made in Musallá's mould,  
Its date in Khák-i-Musallá behold.")

Musallá was a kind of garden cemetery near Shiráz, of which he was very fond, and which is mentioned more than once in the poems, as in No. 8, under Aleph, as follows (see, too, in No. 7 of Shín):

“Cupbearer, bring what wine is left, for not in heaven  
Is Ruknábád’s fair stream, or Mus’lá’s garden even.”

Owing to the peculiar method of construction of the Ghazals, the difficulty of finding appropriate words to complete the alternate lines must have been very great, and one can hardly conceive any one of them having been written off, as one would say, *currente calamo*; but all seem to have been composed one by one separately as the necessary words occurred to the writer, and this is sufficient to account for the disjointed and incoherent nature of many of them. There is hardly one of them that to English ears appears to have the same idea continuously carried through it. Take, for instance, the Ghazal already quoted. The first couplet is addressed to a Shirázi beauty, whoever she may have been; the second goes off to tell the cupbearer to ask for wine, quoted above; and the third speaks of Lúli gipsies, of whom the Shirázi Turk may have been one, as they were celebrated for their beauty and licentious habits. The fourth is probably meant for the same person, while the sixth flies off to Joseph and Potiphar’s wife, typical of Oriental love. The seventh and eighth couplets apparently have no connexion with the preceding, and the ninth and last is in praise of Háfiz’s own poetical talents, and calls on Fate to sprinkle upon his poems the shining Pleiades, as tinsel is scattered on letters and other documents by way of honour or appreciation.

One thing remarkable about this particular Ghazal is that the metre in which it is written is precisely that of “Locksley Hall” and Campbell’s description of the Battle of Copenhagen, the first couplet of the latter of which runs:

“Like leviathans afloat lay our bulwarks on the brine,  
As the sign of battle flew o’er the lofty British line.”



The same want of continuous thought, or, as it may be called, concatenation of ideas, characterizes many of the Ghazals, and although they abound in poetical similes and expressions, some of them give an appearance of patchwork that greatly detracts from their value as literary compositions. The peculiarity in the Persian language of there being no separate word to distinguish between the two sexes in the third personal pronoun, moreover, makes it very difficult in translation to say whether expressions are meant to be addressed to men or women, and adds greatly to the difficulty of the translation in conveying the poet's real meaning, although it may be taken as a general rule that the terms of human feeling and love used were meant to exemplify divine love and religious ecstasy, such as the Oriental mind is apt to indulge in, and thus remove from the mind of the reader the ideas of earthly voluptuousness such terms would tend to engender. In the same way the wine so constantly asked for from the *sáki*, or cupbearer, and praised so extravagantly as of ruby hue, etc., must be taken as the essence of piety, and the drunkenness arising from drinking it as the exhilaration or ecstasy derived from the contemplation of the benefits poured on man by the Creator. That the bent of Háfiz's mind was not towards the licentiousness he sometimes exalts is shown by the manner he at others adopts in speaking of those who wore the blue robe of monasticism as a mere cloak for hypocrisy and evil living, which he frequently condemns. There is also a good deal of sameness in the ideas expressed, and much monotony in the description of beauty and in the epithets employed in portraying fair women and the beauties of Nature. Of these I propose to give examples, as well as of the moral flights in which he speaks of the shortness and uncertainty of life, of the fickleness of fate, etc.

In Ghazal 24, under letter Te, for instance, he says:

"Since from this two-doored \* inn 'tis needful we should go,  
What if the portico of life be high or low?

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\* That is, by the gates of birth and death.

One cannot without pain to joy's abode attain :  
Creation's bonds they fasten with misfortune's chain.  
Care not for being or not being, but be glad :  
All perfect things has aye annihilation had.  
A steed of wind and Asaf's pride ; of birds the strain,  
Go to the winds : what does their owner ever gain ?  
With hasty wing flee not the path : the dart of light  
Must to the dust sink lowly after shortened flight."

In Ghazal 28, under the same letter, we find :

"To wisdom's eye on this road of calamity  
The world's affairs no place have, no stability."

Again, in Ghazal 36, under Te :

"Each pleasant morning thou attainest count a gain ;  
None knows in an affair to what end 'twill attain.  
Be vigilant, for life hangs by a single hair.  
What is the pain of time ? For thy own sorrow care  
Life's water's inner sense and Iram's grove divine,  
What but a river-bank and sweet aromaed wine ?"

As to the mystic sense in which he writes, it is said in  
No. 39, under the same letter :

"Bring wine, that we may dye the robe of our disguise ;  
Drunk with the wine of pride are we, though sober in men's eyes."

The following, from No. 87, B, in praise of wine and  
drunkenness, must be understood in the mystical sense  
explained above :

"Why should he bear reproach who drinks his wine like me ?  
In drunken lovers this no fault or sin can be.  
Tipplers who of hypocrisy betray no trace  
Excel all virtue-sellers of deceitful face.  
I'm no deceitful hypocrite nor hollow friend ;  
To this this witness will the 'Secret-knower' lend.  
God's precepts I obey, and I do ill to none.  
Call not thou lawful what's not lawful to be done.  
What, then, if thou and I should drink a cup of wine ?  
The wine is not thy blood, but blood-drops of the vine.  
This is not such a fault that from it harm may be ;  
And if it were, where is the man from error free ?"

In Ghazal 2, under Dál, Háfiz says of himself :

"Good tidings bear thou to the wine-seller's street :  
Háfiz repents false piety and all deceit."

In Ghazal 23, again, he says :

"Go to the tavern thou, and have thy face red dyed ;  
Not to the monastery, where but rogues abide."

The uncertainty of sorrow, even in this transient world, is expressed thus in Ghazal 62 of Dál :

"Thy union with the moth, O candle, count a gain,  
For this condition till the dawn will not remain.  
An angel from the secret world brought this good news to me :  
To no one on the earth shall sorrow constant be.  
For thanks or blame, for good or bad, when shall be there a place,  
When of the page of being there's no single trace ?  
In Jám's assembly once they sang about the song :  
'The wine-cup bring, for Jám himself is here not long.'  
Rich man, the poor man's heart bring to thy hand ;  
No store of gold or dirams' treasure long may stand.  
Upon the emerald dome of heav'n they wrote in gold :  
'But deeds of charitable men there naught shall hold.'  
In union's embrace glad tidings gave the morn,  
That no one to eternal sorrow has been born."

Of the fickleness of Fate and subsequent oblivion the following from Ghazal 85, under Dál, is an example :

"Handle the cup with due respect : 'tis made indeed  
Of skulls of *Bahman*, *Kaikhobád*, and of *Jamshíd*.  
Who knows where *Kaí* has gone, or where *Káús* as well ?  
And how Jám's throne was ruined who can tell ?  
Come, come ! In wine a while that we may ruin see,  
And reach what treasure in this desert there may be.  
The fickleness of Fate perhaps the tulip knew,  
For it held fast the cup both when 'twas born and grew."

Of the beauty of opening spring, the following, from Ghazal 121, under Dál, is a specimen :

"Zephyr, the old host, to congratulate comes here :  
For song, joy, blandishment, and drink the time is near.  
The air became Messiah-breathed, musk-opener the earth,  
The trees put forth their green, and the birds sang in mirth.  
The tulip's oven so lit up the breeze of spring  
That buds began to sweat and roses 'gan to sing.  
Bring to me wine that's pure ; to thee sweet words I say :  
He who sells wine has come—the hermit passed away."

There are a large number of other odes on a great variety of subjects—some that refer to particular events,

such as the forbidding of the use of wine in the reign of the Princess Dīlshád, and the relaxation of this order under her successor, Sháh Shujáá', and others to individuals on different occasions, such as leaving Shiráz for a time, or returning to it after an absence, etc. Some of these it will be advisable to quote as illustrations of the style of Háfiz.

The following lines from Ghazal 22, under Dál, are said to refer to the marriage of Hájí Kasámuddin, Vazír of Sháh Shujáá' :

“ ‘From honeyed lips,’ said I, ‘what gain old men, forsooth?’  
 ‘In kissing sweet lips,’ answered he, ‘they gain fresh youth.’  
 ‘When does the master,’ said I, ‘see the chamber of the bride?’  
 ‘When Jove and Moon are in conjunction,’ he replied.  
 ‘To beg for thee,’ I said, ‘is Háfiz’ task.’  
 ‘In the sev’n heavens,’ said he, ‘thus the angels ask.’ ”

The following was composed in token of rejoicing on the occasion of Sháh Mansúr returning to Shiráz after having been driven out by the Turkománs :

“ Good news, O heart, that Zephyr’s breeze has come again,  
 And therefore brings good tidings back from Sheba’s plain.  
 Bird of the morning, raise again thou David’s strain,  
 For Solomon, the rose, has come from air again.  
 In morn’s breeze smells the tulip’s heart wine-scent afar,  
 And, quick returning, hopes for med’cine for its scar.  
 Who knows the tulip’s tongue, that she may now explain  
 Why she at first had gone and now comes back again?  
 Behind that caravan my eye had shed the tear  
 Until came back the bells’ sound to my heart and ear.  
 God in His bounty did from mercy not refrain :  
 For His sake did that stony idol come again.”

The following, No. 41 of Dál, sets forth the delights of the company of the beloved one, and may be taken in a mystical sense as showing the joy of the believer at the presence of God :

“ Without a loved one’s blooming cheek the rose is never fair,  
 Nor pleasant is the budding spring unless the wine is there.  
 Cheery no meadow’s side, nor sweet the rose-garden’s air,  
 Unless adorned by tulip cheek and presence of the fair.  
 E’en with a love of sugar-lip and form of rose-like grace,  
 Sweetness would lack for want of kiss and of the close embrace.

The swaying of the blooming rose, the cypress' graceful dance,  
 Without the song of nightingale the heart would not entrance ;  
 A glowing picture that the hand of wisdom could prepare,  
 Without the image would not please, of the enchanting fair.  
 Sweet garden, roses, wine—all these can never pleasant be  
 Unless the mistress of our heart should bear us company.  
 Life, Háfiz, is a coin that's small, that one could well despise,  
 A worthless thing to scatter, too poor a sacrifice."

The following lines are from No. 48 Dál, addressed to a friend on his recovery from illness :

"When to the mead shall come the plund'ring autumn wind,  
 May it its way to thy tall cypress never find.  
 In that place where thy beauty may in grace advance,  
 There may malicious spite for slander have no chance !  
 Whoever on thy moonlike face may look with evil eye,  
 But on the fiery rue of grief may his soul never lie !  
 In Háfiz' sugar-shedding words now seek thy remedy,  
 For candy and rose-water there is no necessity."

When Sháh Shujáa', on succeeding to the Princess Dilshád, withdrew the latter's edict against the enjoyment of wine, this ode (52, under Dál) was composed :

"There came a message with news from Ásaph yesterday  
 That Solomon has given now the sign for play.  
 Turn into clay my body's dust now with a tear ;  
 The time to build my ruined heart's house has come near.  
 Beware, O thou of wine-stained robe, to clothe my shame,  
 For that pure-skirted love to visit me there came."

The following (No. 2, under letter Be) is one of the prettiest and most striking of the Ghazals in praise of wine, but translated in a livelier metre :

"The morning dawns, itself with veil  
 The cloud has covered up.  
 The morning cup, my friends, bring here ;  
 Bring here the morning cup.  
 Trickles the early morning dew  
 Upon the tulip's lip :  
 The wine, my friends, the wine bring here ;  
 The wine that we may sip.  
 The perfumed breeze of Paradise  
 Fresh from the meadow blows :  
 Drink, and for ever drink the wine  
 In purity that glows.



Upon the fragrant mead has laid  
 The rose its emerald throne :  
 Bring hither, then, the scented wine,  
 The ruby's fire its own.  
 Into the tavern would we go,  
 But they have closed the door :  
 O opener of the gate, do Thou  
 Unclose it us once more.  
 At such a season it were strange  
 That they should close the door :  
 On burnt-up breasts salt's remedy,  
 But thy red lip can pour.  
 Let not, then, Háfiz, over thee  
 Yet longer grief prevail :  
 The beauty ' Fortune ' from her face  
 At last will raise the veil."

The next Ghazal, with somewhat of the same sentiment, was composed on the accession to the throne of Sháh Shujáá', who was himself very fond of wine, and, as already noted, cancelled the Princess Dilshád's edict against its enjoyment :

"Where is the sun-like bowl? Now dawns the morn of bliss :  
 Bring me a cup of wine ; no better time than this.  
 Cupbearer honest, quiet house and singer sweet in jest—  
 A time for joy, for circling bowl and youth at best :  
 The sun in search of pleasure, joy adorned in pride ;  
 How sweet the golden cup with ruby liquor dyed !  
 Beauty and singer clapping, drunk feet the time to keep,  
 Cupbearer's glance depriving the tippler's eyes of sleep.  
 A private place and safe, and one for friendship kind,  
 Who finds such a spot, a hundred open gates may find.  
 Nature's tirewoman, brisk with pleasant thought of wine,  
 Will in the rose's heart rosewater aye confine.  
 Whilst Háfiz's precious pearls that moon to buy is found,  
 The chords of the *rebeck* in Zubrah's ear shall sound."

Having thus given specimens of the Ghazals of Háfiz on various subjects, differing to some extent in their metre, it appears advisable that I should mention briefly that there were several other metres made use of in the Mathnasi, the Rubáiyát, and other poems written by him, but which it is unnecessary to describe at length in this place. Of these there are enumerated as many as fourteen under the

names of Bahri Hazaj, Bahri Mutakárib, Bahri Khaffif, etc., full particulars of which are to be found in Forbes' Persian Grammar. These metres are made up of a number of syllables, or feet, based on the *misra*, or homistich—that is, a half-couplet, or *bait*, which may be translated as “couplet,” or stanza. When both the *misra* forming the *bait* have only the same metre, but not the same rhyme, the stanza is called *fard* or *mufrad*—that is, “solitary.” The *bait* doubled, then called *rubá'i*, of which the plural is *rubáiyát*, is a stanza of two *bait*s, or four lines, of which the first, second, and fourth rhyme with each other, and the third, although of the same length, does not, although occasionally all four have the same terminal rhyme. Such are the *rubáiyát* of Háfiz, which we are not now dealing with, and those, perhaps more generally known to the English-speaking public, of 'Vmr Khayám, which have become familiar to them chiefly through the greatly appreciated translation of the late Edward Fitzgerald. Then comes the Ghazal, or ode, of which specimens have been given above. The most common subjects treated of in Ghazals, as will have been noticed, are the beauty of a mistress; the sufferings of a despairing lover through her absence or indifference; the delights of the season of spring; the beauty of flowers; the songs of birds, especially of the nightingale in its infatuation for the rose; the pleasures of wine and hilarity; the uncertainty of life; and the illusory nature of the matters of this life, brought about by the revolutions of the heavens or Fate. The first two lines of the Ghazal, as a rule, are in the same metre, and have the same rhyme with which that of every other line of the Ghazal, commencing with the fourth, agrees. This commencement is called the *matlá*, or opening, and the concluding couplet the *maktá*, or place of cutting short; in the latter the poet manages to introduce his own name, or *nom de plume* (*takhallus*), à propos to his own achievements in literature or other doings—as, for instance, in the quotation from Ghazal under Aleph given above:

"Ghazal Güftí va dürr süftí bayá va khúsh be kh'án  
Keh bar nazm-i-tú befishánad falk akd-i-suráyá ;"

which may be translated :

"In ghazals Háfiz sung, with fine pearls strung, now pleasantly rehearse,  
That heav'n the shining Pleiads may sprinkle on thy verse."

In conclusion, I will say but a few words on the Súfis, to whom Háfiz belonged, and their doctrines. The word is supposed to be derived from *súf*, the Arabic for "wool," from the material of which their robes were made; but I have an idea that it was in some degree connected with the Greek *Sophia* (σοφία), or wisdom. Their doctrines were set forth in the works of Plato, and prevailed in very ancient times among Hindu philosophers of the Vedánta school. They are thus described by Sir William Jones: "A figurative mode of expressing the fervour of devotion or the ardent love of created spirits toward their beneficent creator has prevailed from time immemorial in Asia, particularly among the Persian Theists, who seem to have borrowed it from the Indian philosophers of the Vedánta school. What Grecian travellers learned among the sages of the East may be explained elsewhere, but we confine this paper to a singular species of poetry, which consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems, on a transient view, to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism. . . ."

The Vedántas and Súfis concur in believing that the souls of men differ infinitely in *degree*, but not at all in *kind*, from the Divine Spirit, of which they are particles, and in which they will ultimately be absorbed; that the Spirit of God pervades the universe, always immediately present to His work, and, consequently, always in substance; that He alone is perfect benevolence, perfect truth, perfect beauty; that the love of Him alone is real and genuine love, while that of all other objects is *absurd* and illusory; that the beauties of Nature are faint resemblances, like images in a mirror, of the Divine charms; that from eternity without beginning to eternity without end the

Supreme Benevolence is occupied in bestowing happiness or the means of attaining it, etc. The modern Súfis, who profess a belief in the Qorán, suppose, with great sublimity both of thought and diction, an *express contract* on the day of eternity without beginning between the assemblage of created spirits and the supreme soul, from which they were detached when a celestial voice pronounced the words : "Art not thou with thy Lord?"—that is, Art thou not bound by a solemn contract with Him?—and all the spirits answered with one voice : "Yes !"

The Súfis conform to all the outward ceremonial observances of Muhammadanism, but have evolved for themselves a purer creed, that savours less of materialism. With the exalted ideas of the nature of God and the soul briefly sketched above, they may be considered pure Theists or Pantheists ; but looking at the sensuous terms in which human love and passion are treated, it is in reality extremely difficult to decide where their spirituality—or, at all events, that of Háfiz—ends, and the sensuality begins. It had better be left to the judgment of the men of the time, who were in favour of the former, and accordingly allowed him to be buried as an orthodox Mussulmán. There can be no doubt, at all events, as to the genius of Háfiz as a poet.

## URIYA GRIEVANCES.

BY MAJOR A. GLYN LEONARD.

THIS pamphlet\* has been compiled by Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E. It is a statement of certain grievances of the Uriya race that he, as President of the Orissa Association and Secretary of the Utkal Union Conference, has respectfully submitted to the House of Commons, who, as Mr. Das reminds its members, are trustees for the people of India. It has also been laid, with like respect, before the Independent British Press, in compliance with the resolutions passed by the National Society, Balasore, the Orissa Association, and the representative Uriyas of Ganjam. A perusal of this document of facts shows that it has been carefully and conscientiously drawn up. From first to last it is clear that the compiler is in deadly earnest over his subject, as a patriotic Uriya should be. On every page he has left the stamp of his sincerity. At the same time he has approached the matter as a loyal subject of the British Empire, and every word used or argument employed has been set forth in calm and dispassionate language, with an obviously high motive—that, for instance, of righting certain grievances. This is as it should be. The justice of Englishmen is proverbial, but English law is not always as equable as it might be—certainly not in its application towards people whose idiosyncrasies and traditions are dissimilar. Besides, British administrators are, as a rule, painfully ignorant of ethnic, especially religious conditions.

Thus, in a short prefatory note, as Mr. Das shows, Orissa is still "*the Holy Land of India*." Within its sacred limits stands the Temple of Juggernaut—the Holy of Holies—in which is enshrined *the God of the people*.

\* "Statement of Grievances of the Uriyah Race. Submitted to the House of Commons in Compliance with Resolutions of Certain Public Bodies."



This in itself should entitle it to a peculiar and specific consideration at the hands of British Administrators. Holy ground such as this, and the traditions associated with it, to say nothing of the religious susceptibilities of a sensitive people, ought to command their respect. By means of its ancient sanctity alone it is entitled to so much. Yet, as Mr. Das points out, the religion of the people has been interfered with. To quote but one instance: The management of religious property and the gods of the Feudatory State of Nilgiri—that have hitherto always been the special care of its Rani—have been taken from her, and placed in charge of the Political Agent. This is not as it should be. It looks too much like adding insult to injury. Not only is it against all precedent and the established policy of the British Government, but from a matter-of-fact, common-sense standpoint it is simply fatuous. It is a going out of the way to do the wrong thing instead of keeping to the right. A policy such as this, if persisted in, is bound to lead to mischief. It is an egregious blunder, a fatal error.

Apart from this, it is a treatment that the Uriyas, of all the Hindu races, least deserve, loyal and friendly as they have always shown themselves to our Government. In the administration of a people such as they the royal roadway lies through their hearts and sympathies. The character of the Uriyas is inflammable. Public agitation is undesirable, in face particularly of the fact that they are steadily losing faith in the British sense of justice. This very deplorable state of affairs has been brought about not only through interference with their religion, but by a disregard of treaties. It is impossible, Mr. Das says, to lay down hard and fast rules in order to regulate the relations of the British Government with the Feudatory Chiefs. Much must be left to the personal tact, sympathy and discretion of the Political Agent. The history of the past shows how the intentions of Government repeatedly expressed in letters and resolutions have been misunderstood by

successive Commissioners, who were ex-officio Superintendents. The post of native assistant has been abolished. The old practice of direct correspondence between the Rajahs and the Superintendent it is proposed to supersede by the interposition of the Political Agent. The arrangement removes the Commissioner of the Division further from the Rajahs. He will under the new arrangement be in the position of an appellate court, which is hardly of any use. The aggrieved Rajahs do not usually complain against little insults and troubles they receive from the youthful and vigorous Political Agent, but nevertheless every little indiscreet act, every effusion of young vanity, tends to widen the gulf between the Feudatory States and the Government.

"The Bengal Government has drawn up a feudatory manual, which is meant to lay down rules for the guidance of the Political Agent in his dealings with the Tributary States. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal asked four or five of the Chiefs to discuss this code. Though twenty-four Chiefs are interested in it, only this small number were consulted. All these five are young. The old Chiefs were not allowed any voice. One of the Chiefs requested Government to allow officers of his to be present at the discussion to help him with his advice. This was refused. The draft code was not published; it was not circulated among the Chiefs—not even among those invited to the conference. They saw the code there, and it was hurried through.

"The Chiefs *who were present* reserved their right to represent their objections. But those who were not asked to this conference will never be able to find a justification for his treatment."

"There is never smoke without fire." This precept holds good as much now as it did when first it passed into a proverb. In this particular case, as in many others, there can be little doubt that the grievances of the Uriyas are a reality. The fact of the matter is, the people have been

misunderstood. This misconception—through ignorance of native idiosyncrasies—is at the root of the evil, as it has always been the basis of all racial misunderstanding. It is, too, so easy for the stronger to override the weaker. Yet, in dealing with the Uriyas, we should remember that we are dealing with a race more ancient even than ourselves—a race whose language is derived from that lingual mother common to the Indo-European family, and whose traditions are one with the great Aryan section from which we ourselves have originated. Therefore as we are strong, so we should be merciful. So, too, we ought to extend to our weaker brethren that sympathy which is the legitimate due of a common humanity. Justice is all very well and seemly in its way, but justice without sympathy is unavailing and inadequate. Equity alone can appeal to a natural and emotional people such as to this day the Uriyas are. Sympathy, in fact, is the only key that can unlock the hearts of that simple and religious people, who are under the domination of warm but impulsive emotions.

It seems to us that Mr. Das has proved his case up to the hilt, in a most dignified and judicious manner; and this should entitle him to every consideration. It is a pity that he did not make an impassioned appeal to the Home Authorities. But possibly from a diplomatic standpoint he has adopted the right and proper course. Facts are always stubborn. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Mr. Morley will not only look into these grievances, but adjust them. That there are two sides to this, as to all questions, we quite recognize, but the side of the British Government is written unmistakably in certain dubious acts of its administrators. To those who have an insight into the religious convictions and inner workings of this deeply religious and emotional people, it is obvious that, whatever we do, we should above all keep faith with them, and treat their ancestral rites in the fine spirit of that liberality and tolerance which has for centuries past been a national tradition with us.

## ISLAM IN CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN my paper upon the above subject in the issue of July, 1907,\* I say, with reference to the alleged introduction of Islam into China and the building of a mosque at Si-an Fu in 628: "I am not aware that any European has ever seen either an old mosque or a commemorative tablet in Si-an"; and then I proceed to cite more definite facts, supported by Chinese history, showing that a mosque really was built there after 756. I also call attention to the late M. Devéria's "*Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*," published by the Imprimerie Nationale about twelve years ago. M. Devéria alludes to an inscription, dated 742, belonging to the largest mosque in Si-an, the only one (he says) which in the opinion of some was established during the T'ang dynasty; but (he adds) no European has yet seen the original, or a rubbing of it. These words in my paper attracted the attention of Dr. Berthold Laufer, of the Columbia University, who wrote to tell me that he had himself seen the original, *in situ*, when he was in Si-an Fu. On this I at once wrote to the French bishopric there, and in due course received a packet of rubbings from Father Gabriel Maurice, of that city; of one of these I now give an annotated translation below. Unfortunately, Father Maurice does not tell me from which mosque the 742 rubbing is taken; but I since hear from Dr. Laufer that he himself possesses not only all the Si-an Fu rubbings that I now possess, but also all the Mussulman inscriptions in the Peking, Hangchow, Canton, K'ai-fêng Fu, and T'ai-an Fu mosques, so that we may shortly expect plenty of new evidence upon the top of the present preliminary instalment. He says there are two mosques at Si-an with inscriptions and five mosques without, but unfortunately

\* See pages 64-83.

he also omits to tell me from which of the two mosques possessing records the present important inscription is taken; nor does he mention the new name given in 1482 to the older of the two mosques, but uses the old name.

As to the author of the inscription, Wang Hung, not only is his life given at length both in the Old T'ang History and New T'ang History, but the character Hung is so rare in literature that the modern Dictionary of the Manchu Emperor, K'ang-hi (1663-1723), practically says that its sole use in letters is to express the personal name of Wang Hung of the T'ang dynasty. Neither history says anything about Wang composing this inscription; nor, in any case, would it be at all a likely thing to mention in biography. In the Old T'ang History the character Hung is written slightly differently, possibly because the true character was too rare for general comprehension, and, moreover, the titles therein do not exactly correspond with the titles of the inscription; but the New T'ang History happily informs us that Wang Hung was promoted after 743, and it *does* give the correct titles. So far as the authorship goes, therefore, it may be said to be proved up to the hilt.

M. Devéria's knowledge of the inscription was derived from a Chinese Mussulman work in which it was printed. He objects that the style of it has not the true ring of T'ang dynasty "stelegraphy." In this I agree with him, and I add on my own part that the rubbing discloses a calligraphy quite different from that of the Nestorian stone of 781, and looks to me much more modern in spirit. However, these two points need the thorough exploration of the best native critics, and no foreigner is competent to pronounce upon such a matter positively without their trained assistance. I shall meanwhile consult Father Hoang (of Siccawei) on the subject. M. Devéria also considers the allusion to the K'ai-hwang period (581-600)—which is, of course, too early for Islam to have entered China—very suspicious, and suggests a connexion with the



incredible story about the *sahab* Wakkass (see my July paper). To this it may be replied that the inscription talks of tradition, and professes total ignorance of time and place. Bedr ou Din (of the inscription) would naturally tell the Chinese that Muhammed was born (583) during K'ai-hwang, and that is correct: there is also the question of the retrospective confusion between Mussulman lunar and Chinese solar years to consider. At all events, M. Devéria's second objection is not altogether insuperable. M. Devéria then correctly points out that the "divine square" or "divine place" (Kaaba) is not mentioned in standard history before 1258, when two variants are used along with it, meaning "divine house" and "divine hall" (i.e., *beitullah*). But, if the inscription had stood from 742 to 1258 in Si-an Fu, surely the idea of *T'ien-fang* (divine place) must have been perpetually in the minds of Chinese Mussulmans, and may, indeed, have been the sole written authority for its first historical use in 1258? The Old T'ang History itself gives what it calls "one account" of Muhammed of the Hashem family in the Koreish tribe during K'ai-hwang times, and the man (Wu King) who put the materials of this history together did so almost exactly at the date when Wang Hung composed the slab inscription. Finally, M. Devéria himself—and perhaps the work from which he copies—makes a mistake in the name of the street (Wu-tsz Hiang) in which the great mosque was, and presumably is. There is authority both during the Mongol dynasty (1200-1368) and Ming dynasty (1368-1643) for Tsz-wu Hiang.

Dr. Laufer says: "Of the oldest inscription of 742 two versions are in existence—the original, and a more recent one, in which no date of the erection of the stone is given. In this recent version a few gaps are filled in, and in a few cases some difficult phrases have been replaced by easier ones." Father Maurice has sent me rubbings of both, but I do not yet discern any conclusive reason for accepting one as more recent than the other. The

second and (as Dr. Laufer thinks) more recent one *does* give the date, adding the words "zodiacal precession" before the words *jên-wu*. Moreover, the name of the stone-cutter is given—a native of Wan-nien (Eternal) City, (*i.e.* Si-an Fu).

On the whole, and subject to the chances of further evidence turning up, I am disposed to believe that both inscriptions are genuine T'ang, though one differs for some unexplained reason in unessential points from the other; and in any case I consider it to be conclusively proved that a Mussulman mosque existed in Si-an Fu in 742.

#### TRANSLATION.

COMPOSED BY WANG HUNG, SECRETARY ATTACHED TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, PERFORMING ALSO DUTY AS A CENSOR.

I have always humbly understood that that which for countless ages never fails us is *tao*,\* whilst that which for all time has worked with touching effect is the heart. It is the inspired men,† whose hearts are one and whose *tao* is the same, who touch the heart and never fail us for all time, for which reason it is that inspired men may appear anywhere within the four oceans; and when we speak of inspired men, we mean that this heart and this *tao* are within them alike. Muhammed, the inspired man of the Western regions,‡ was born subsequently to Confucius, and

\* *Tao*, "the way," is the ancient principle of perfect rule, the *shên-tao* or "spiritual path" of the Book of Changes (the Japanese *shin-tō*), the *Taoism* later developed by Lao-tsz—*i.e.*, "Providence," or the providential scheme of the universe; in other words, "Eternal Truth," "the Word," or "God," as conceived by the writer of St. John's Gospel.

† *Shêng-jên* (Japanese form *sei-djin*), usually translated "holy man" or "saint homme," generally refers to Confucius; but, ages before Confucius, it was used—as in the Book of Changes—in reference to model Emperors, and it may now be used of any great religious founder. In the form of flattery, it may even be applied to living Emperors.

‡ See "China and Religion" (John Murray, 1905), p. 169. Arabia, North India, Persia, etc., are included in this term, which usually refers more specifically to Turkestan in its vague and largest sense.

dwelt in the country of the Kaaba;\* it is not known how far distant in time and place from the inspired man of China. And how is it that, with languages so different, the *tao* corresponds so exactly? It is because, the hearts being one, their *tao* is the same. It has been said in the past: "A thousand inspired, but one heart; throughout eternity but one principle." And true it is. However, though the time be far past and the individuals dead, the Scriptural Books are still preserved. From what tradition says, we know that the inspired man of the Western regions was supernaturally intelligent from his birth: he understood the principles of created nature,† and was conversant with what has been said about the respective conditions of life and death in this world and above. Then we have ablutions for the cleanliness of the person; paucity of desires for the nourishment of the mind; fasting and abstinence for the mastery of the senses; eschewing evil in favour of what is good, and of doing what is essential for self-perfection; complete loyalty without deception as a basis for influencing the hearts of men; in marriages, the rendering of mutual assistance; in deaths, the taking part reciprocally in funerals: in a word, in matters great, touching principle, social duty and propriety;‡ in matters small, touching such matters as daily movements, eating, and repose; nothing without *tao*, nothing without showing example, nothing without fear of Heaven. Though the various heads may in detail appear somewhat multifarious, yet we may sum the whole purport of it in a few words. The main idea is that

\* See "Chinese Contributions to the Kaaba Question," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1899. See also "Islam in China," the same magazine for July, 1907.

† "Heaven, earth, metamorphosis": the idea, whatever it may be, appears to belong to Buddhistic rather than to Confucian literature. The second clause of the sentence is, however, clearly inspired by the Book of Changes on ouranology and geogony.

‡ The Three Duties, Five Constant Virtues, Five Cardinal Relationships, and general rule of action of the Confucian teaching.

Heaven, the Creator of all things,\* is the *Dominus*, and the *tao* for serving Heaven can be exhausted in one single sentence—to wit, simply “transgress not the reverence of our own hearts,” which would appear to be in general very much the same as the “Revere thou Glorious Heaven” of our Yao,† the “holy reverence for the sun’s motions” of our T’ang,‡ the “enlightened serving of the Emperor on High” by our Wên, and Confucius’ “he who offends Heaven”;§ all which are evidence enough in support of the proposition—“touches the heart and never fails us for all time.” Though the inspired *tao* was thus similar, yet, as it only had vogue in the Western regions, China never heard of it until during the K’ai-hwang period of the Sui dynasty,|| when the teaching entered China and spread itself broadcast over the Empire. And so on until the T’ien-pao period of His Majesty,¶ in the present dynasty, when, on account of

\* “All things” comes from the cosmogony of the Book of Changes. “Creation” is the metamorphosis process of the last note but one. Unfortunately, the word translated *Dominus* is ambiguous, as it can also be translated “leading idea on which stress must be laid.”

† The Emperor Yao’s injunction (about 2300 B.C.) to his astronomers as related in the Book of History. “Heaven” and “Emperor Aloft” are the two most ancient Chinese expressions for “God Above.”

‡ This “holy,” from the Book of Odes, is the same word as that translated “inspired” in the second note above. Yao and T’ang (1766 B.C.) were both “holy men”; as also was King Wên, whose son destroyed, in 1122 B.C., the corrupted dynasty gloriously founded by T’ang; and, of course, Confucius (500 B.C.) was “holy.”

§ In the Analects Confucius said that such an one “was past praying for,” or, perhaps, “was beyond the reach of his own prayers.”

|| The Sui dynasty (581-618) reunited the two halves of China after centuries of Tartar rule in the north, and was the first to cope with the Turks, and seriously try to follow their lead through the Caspian region and Persia to the “Franks” (*Fuh-lin*) or “Fer-reng” of Byzantium. The reign-period K’ai-hwang was 581-600. The word *kiao*, or “teaching,” which has, since the introduction of Buddhism in A.D. 65, come to mean “faith” or “religion,” means so here. In Confucius’s time it meant “culture” generally; and Confucianism, Taoism, Legism, etc., were only *p’ai*—i.e., “rills” or “branches”—of general culture, which, as a whole, did not at first differentiate clearly between “religion,” “law,” and “administration.”

¶ The short-lived Sui dynasty was succeeded by the more prudent and competent one of T’ang (618-907), which entirely broke up the Turkish



*tao* of the Western regions Apostle having similarities with the *tao* of the Apostle of China, and the faith he set up being based on orthodox principles, commands were accordingly given to Lo T'ien-tsioh, Superintendent of Craftsmen in the Board of Works, to take charge of the artisans and labourers and erect a monastery for it, in order to house its congregation. Meanwhile, their Bishop\* is Pai-tu-êrh-tih. He is a man considerably conversant with the Scriptural Book,† and he will have charge of the congregations, carry out the worship of the holy teaching, and from time to time conduct services ‡ in honour of Heaven, whilst at the same time a place will be available for prayers for His Majesty's long life.§ The

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Empire, and for a time ruled as overlord even of Persia. The reign-period T'ien-pao was 742-756. The word translated "Apostle" (*cf.* Heb. iii. 1, where it is even applied to Christ Himself) is still the "inspired man" or "holy one" of previous notes; it would be equally correct to translate "Apostles," but no Chinese subsequent to Confucius has been seriously dignified with the title.

\* He who *chu* (manages) their *kiao* (faith). The words *chu-kiao* have been adopted by both Catholics and (I believe) Protestants to translate the word *episcopos*, or "overseer"; I suppose *sherif* would be a corresponding Mussulman rank. M. Devéria has identified this overseer's name as Bedr oud Din, but I do not know how far he has travelled in search of evidence of this, or how far it is guess-work.

† This evidently means "the Koran," as the Chinese classics are very rarely, if ever, now called Classical (or Scriptural) "Books," though the term once occurs in standard history 2,000 years ago. Previous to Confucius, the "classics" were known simply as The Odes, The Changes, The Rites, The (History) Book; and, like the earliest ancient Jewish, Arabic, Greek, and other national "Scriptures," were usually repeated popularly from mouth to mouth, and not consigned to writing material at all, except for purposes of central record.

‡ The term *li-pai* (rite-obseance), applied to foreign religious services, and thence by extension to "a week," "Sabbath," or "Sunday," was used in connexion with Buddhist functions at least a century before Islam was heard of. At present Protestant chapels are often spoken of as "*Li-pai* Halls."

§ "Sacred age," or "His Majesty's long life," is an expression still in current use; but the word elsewhere translated "inspired," "holy," etc., is here quite conventional, and in no way places the modern Emperors in the category of "saints," or *divi*.



work was begun on the auspicious\* day of the third moon in the first year, and completed on the twentieth day of the eighth moon in this same year. Tih† and his friends, fearing lest all traces should disappear in the distant future, and that there should be no evidence available, have accordingly set up this slab as a record, in order to narrate the facts. Time when erected, first year of T'ien-pao, (sexagenary year) *jên-wu*; mid-autumn, auspicious day.

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P.S.—I have just received a letter from Father Hoang. Besides citing much of the evidence given above, he quotes a Chinese work upon the Seven Tenets (of Islam? no date given), stating that the Mussulman faith first reached China *via* the Southern Ocean and Canton. He also cites a report dated 1781 from the Governor of Shen Si to the Emperor, stating that there were then several thousand Mussulman families, with seven mosques, in Si-an Fu; the largest mosque was the one established during the T'ang dynasty. Father Hoang further states that the Mussulman work *Hwei-hwei Yüan-lai* (summarized in the July papers on Islam) is considered by the learned in China to be a mere romance. Whilst confirming much that I have said in this and the former papers on Islam and the Kaaba, Father Hoang adds no new confirmatory evidence beyond the two items here specified.

\* That is, the first day. The year was 742.

† Tih = Din. In accordance with regular Chinese practice, a part of a vague foreign designation is taken as a personal name.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, October 24, 1907, a paper was read by J. Nisbet, Esq. (formerly Conservator of Forests, Burma), on "The Development and Trade of Burma," Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Mr. Harold Cox, M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Rev. H. B. Wilkinson and Mrs. Wilkinson, Colonel and Mrs. Paget, Major Gilbert Baynes, Mr. Gerald Ritchie, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Abercromby Alexander, Mr. C. E. D. Black, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, the Misses Delaney, Miss Beck, Mr. Randolph Behrens, Mrs. Paget, Mr. J. D. Westbrook, Mr. W. Mason, Mr. T. M. Rickman, Mr. E. T. Sturdy, Mr. Lambert, Mr. C. Palmer, Mr. Edward Palmer, Mr. O. Grey, Miss James, Mrs. Millerd, Miss Pelie, Miss Goodman, Mr. Masudul Hasan Siddige, Mr. D. N. Ahmad, Mr. Craig Brown, Mr. D. H. Khurshid, Mrs. Ferrier, Mr. J. G. Wright, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. H. Meyer, Mr. Burne, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN having introduced the lecturer, the paper was read.

In opening the discussion, SIR HUGH BARNES said he thought they would all agree with him that they ought to be much obliged to Dr. Nisbet for the very interesting and instructive address he had given, for the pictures which he had shown, and also for his excellent description of the present state of affairs in Burma. Dr. Nisbet spoke with great knowledge, for there were few Burma officers who knew Burma better than he did. He also spoke with that touch of enthusiasm which every Burma officer displayed when he came to speak of the country in which he had served. He (the speaker) fully shared that enthusiasm, because, although only a short time in Burma, he had been captured by the glamour and attractions of that beautiful country. It was difficult to say exactly in what the attraction consisted. It was not only that the people were interesting, or that the country was beautiful—undoubtedly it was one of the most beautiful countries he had ever seen—nor was it merely the great possibilities and opportunities which it offered, both to the energetic Administrator and man of commerce. Perhaps the chief reason was that Burma, more than any other part of India, appealed strongly to the imagination. Wherever one went out of the beaten track through the splendid forests of which Dr. Nisbet had spoken there was a sense always of adventure and discovery, which was very exhilarating and attractive. He did not propose to follow Dr. Nisbet through all the interesting subjects he had touched on, but he would like to say a few words about the railways and other communications. He entirely agreed with Dr. Nisbet that one thing

which Burma urgently needed was an extension of railways and roads. In 1903, although they had the railway to Prome, and the main line right up to the north, there was not a yard of railway under construction in Burma. That was partly owing to the Government of India's reluctance to grant funds, and partly to difficulties with the Burma Railway Company as to the terms on which funds should be supplied later on. These difficulties were overcome, and the two new railways to Moulmein and Kyangin were now very nearly finished. Although some of the other lines, to which Dr. Nisbet referred, had been approved by the Government of India, so far there had been no allotment of funds, and it seemed not improbable that very soon they would find themselves again, as in 1903, with no new lines under construction in Burma, unless a great effort were made to persuade the Government of India of the urgency of Burma's needs. After the new lines—that is to say, the railway from Rangoon to Moulmein and the small branch to Kyangin—were put in hand in 1903, they had to consider what other railways were required; and a programme was drawn up, which they asked the Government of India to approve and allot funds for. In considering the question of railways in Burma, the first thing they had to recollect was that in the present state of population and development no railway would pay, from a railway point of view, unless it was made in the rainy zone, which lay mainly to the south of the twentieth degree of latitude. If they looked at one of those maps which showed the various degrees of rainfall, they would see that the monsoon gave a very heavy rainfall along the coast and over the Irrawaddy Delta and in Arakan. The rainfall of Akyab and Moulmein was over 200 inches, and of Rangoon 150 inches; but when the clouds struck the hills they rose and passed, without giving much rain, right over the centre of the country. The consequence was that in Mandalay and in several districts north and south of Mandalay the average rainfall was only some 25 or 30 inches. This was what was called the dry zone. As the clouds swept north they were arrested by the hills of the Arakan Yomas and the Shan Plateau, and gave rain to both sides of the dry zone and again to the districts on the extreme north—viz., Myitkyina and Bhamo. As an illustration of the fact that the most profitable railways were those in the south, he might mention that the railways to Toungoo and Prome paid from 9 per cent. to 10 per cent., while the two branches in the dry zone only paid about 2 per cent. A second point to remember was that the indirect returns to the Government from railway construction were very much larger in the wet zone than anywhere else. He had had occasion to examine the results of the line from Rangoon to Toungoo, and during the twenty years it had been made he found that in the districts through which it passed the population had rather more than doubled, the area under cultivation had quintupled, and the revenue from all sources had been multiplied by eleven. Another thing they had to consider was administrative convenience. An Indian province, as they knew, was divided into districts, and these districts were again grouped into divisions, under Commissioners. There were eight Commissionerships in Burma; there were also two important political charges—that of the Northern Shan States at Lashio, and of the Southern Shan States at

Taungyi. From the point of view of the Local Government, it was very desirable that all these places should be connected with Rangoon by railway. Seven of them were so connected—viz., the Commissionerships of Pegu, Moulmein, Bassain, Mandalay, Sagaing, and Meiktila, and the political charge at Lashio. There were three which were not yet connected by railway—viz., Magwe, Arakan, and Taungyi. Taking all these facts into consideration, the programme that they drew out was that the first thing that ought to be done in Burma was the construction of a bridge over the Irrawaddy to join the lines north and south of the river. At present there was only a steam ferry. North of the river in the Myitkya and Katha districts the railway passed through a damp zone. The security of our rule had brought back the population, who had previously left it owing to the raids from the frontier tribes in the north; and consequently there had been such a large development in the cultivation of rice that the railway could not carry it away because there was so much delay in getting trucks over the river. This bridge over the Irrawaddy at Sagaing was the most urgent of all the public works in Burma if the northern part of the railway was ever to pay. The next project of importance was a line to connect Taungyi in the Southern Shan States with the main line at Thazi. Beyond the hills on the east of the Irrawaddy Valley was a beautiful country—the Shan States plateau—extending right away to the Chinese border, and of an average elevation of 3,000 to 4,000 feet.

This tract possessed a fairly temperate climate, and although it was British territory, it was at present governed by the original Shan chiefs under the direction of British officers. There were no less than forty-three small States scattered about the plateau. It was a country possessing some mineral wealth, and it was capable of growing large quantities of wheat, vegetables, and fruit; but at present the people were unable to get their produce on to the main line of railway because of the bad roads down from the hills, and the unhealthy forest and jungle through which they passed. The whole of the forty-three chiefs had recently petitioned for a railway, because, they said, all development in their States was arrested until they were given the means of bringing their produce on to the main line. They had urgently pressed the Government to sanction this line. The Government of India had approved the construction of it, but so far no allotment of funds had been made. The third line which the Local Government recommended was a line connecting Arakan with Pegu. Arakan was annexed in 1826 and Pegu and Rangoon in 1852, but up to the present time there was no metalled road between the two provinces, and practically no communication by land. The only way to reach Akyah from Rangoon was by sea. In fact, Arakan was probably the most isolated division in all British India. There was only one small steamer from Rangoon to Akyah once a week. The voyage took three days, and in the monsoon it was often a very uncomfortable journey. He considered it most important that there should be either a good metalled road or a railway from Prome *via* Tangayh to Akyah. Ultimately, no doubt this line would be pushed on to Chittagong, and so give railway communication with India; but what was of immediate importance from



the provincial point of view was to make Arakan accessible from the rest of Burma. The fourth railway suggested was to connect Magwe, through Taungwingyi, with the main line at Pinyinmano.

Lastly, he might mention a line which Dr. Nisbet had also referred to—the line from Bhamo to Tengyueh, in China. They probably knew that the Chinese had many years ago granted to the French a concession for making a line from Tonkin up to Yunnan-fu. That railway had been under construction for some years, and the French were now pushing it on with some energy. It had actually crossed the French frontier; it would shortly reach the Chinese frontier town of Mentzu, and it was anticipated that it would probably run into Yunnan-fu in 1909 or 1910. Now, the case for the Tengyueh line was this: The main trade centre of Yunnan was not Yunnan-fu, but Hsia Kuan, near Talifu. This was the meeting-place of the great trade routes from Tibet, from Szechuen, from the Yangtse, and from Burma; and hitherto the bulk of the trade from Hsia Kuan had come *via* Tengyueh to Bhamo, because Burma and the Irrawaddy was the easiest and safest route to the sea. But Yunnan-fu was considerably nearer to Hsia Kuan than Bhamo, so once the French railway reached Yunnan-fu it was inevitable that the trade with Burma would be deflected to the new railway, unless by some means we could maintain the superiority of our own route. It had at one time been proposed to continue the Lashio line to the frontier, and from thence to build a line through Chinese territory to Talifu. But this line would be over 500 miles long, it would cross a very difficult country, most of it was in foreign territory, and it would cost at least seven millions sterling. Lord Curzon had, therefore, very wisely ruled that it was outside the domain of practical politics. On the other hand, Tengyueh, the Chinese town through which the trade came at present, was nearer to Hsia Kuan than Yunnan-fu was, and it was thought that if a light line could be made from the Irrawaddy at Bhamo up to Tengyueh, our route would retain its superiority, and that we should be able to keep our existing trade with Western Yunnan, notwithstanding the advent of the French line to Yunnan-fu. It was not easy to persuade the Government of India to take up the matter, but at length, with the consent of the Chinese, a survey was ordered, and the results were most encouraging. It was found that the railway would be 122 miles long, would cost about £800,000, and it was estimated that it would pay 4 per cent. on its capital cost. The only thing that remained was to obtain a concession from the Chinese. But in the meanwhile times had changed. Since the Japanese War there had been an awakening of China, and the cry was, "China for the Chinese," and "No more foreign concessions." Although we had a right to an equality of opportunity with the French in Yunnan, it was now very difficult to obtain a concession. He hoped the resources of diplomacy were not exhausted, and that in time we should obtain this concession, which would really be as profitable to the Chinese as to ourselves. If we did not, he feared our trade with Western Yunnan was doomed, for there was little probability that the Chinese would ever construct this line themselves. They had neither the money, nor the men, nor the necessary skill.



If the programme he had sketched and the various lines he had suggested, including the Sagaing bridge, were all made, Burma, as at present developed, would be fairly well equipped in the matter of railways. He considered the programme should be approved, and an annual sum set aside for its gradual completion. But so far no funds at all had been allotted for any of them, the reason for which he would explain. The present system was that the Government of India set aside £10,000,000 a year for railways. But a very large portion of this sum was swallowed up by the requirements of open lines, which were the first charge upon it. Every year the demands of the open lines increased, and the balance available for new works diminished. And for a share in this small and diminishing balance there was keen competition throughout India. Burma was remote from head-quarters and apt to be forgotten or neglected, and there was little prospect that Burma would get its fair share unless the Local Government was constantly alert and always urging its claims. As they were no doubt aware, the Secretary of State had recently appointed a committee to consider whether the existing system of financing railways in India could not be improved. He had no doubt that committee would be able to recommend improvements, which would make larger sums available for railway construction; but whatever the new system might be, they may rest assured that in this age of competition there would be the keenest scramble for any sums that might be forthcoming, and Burma will not be likely to get her fair share of them unless she clamours for it, and clamours for it loudly. Therefore, Burma must not sit still, but ought to press her own claims on every suitable opportunity.

There were other subjects in Dr. Nisbet's address that it would be interesting to touch on—for example, the urgent need for roads, or, at any rate, of passable tracks through the forests of Tenasserim, in Southern Burma. But time was short, and the main point he wished to insist upon was that the existing expenditure on the construction of railways in Burma was not sufficient for the needs of the country or for its proper development. He hoped that the Viceroy's coming visit to Burma would result in more being done for the province in the future than had been done in the past.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the time is so advanced—owing to the length of the lecture, the admirable pictures that we have seen of the country, and the interesting and illuminating speech of the late Lieutenant-Governor of Burma—that I am going to refrain from making any lengthy speech to you to-night. I had, I confess, a good many things in my mind that I wished to speak about, not only regarding railways and roads in Burma, but of interest to some of you who are not devoted to industrial projects, especially the ladies who are kind enough to attend our meetings. I was going to tell you something of Burman life and character, the Burman creed—I cannot call it a religion—and also things that are of extreme interest to Englishmen and all thinkers in the world; but this intention I will postpone to some other day, when, perhaps, I will read a paper on Burma myself (applause), which may interest not only the statesman and the engineer, but thinking people who realize what an enormous

influence Buddhism has had on the thought of the East, and which it is now having on the thought of the West. Those matters, although they are not directly concerned with the subject of Dr. Nisbet's paper, are all of extreme importance, and they are attached to it in many ways, especially with regard to immigration into Burma from India, which from many points of view one looks upon with extreme regret. However, these things are for the future. I would only wish to thank the late Lieutenant-Governor for his interesting description of the progress of the railways, which he has explained in a way which has made clear to me, as it never was before, what has been done, and what is proposed to be done. One conclusion from his authoritative statement, he being still a high official of the Government of India, he is probably not himself disposed to make in public; but I draw from his remarks a confirmation of the belief which I have held for many years—that the separation of Burma from Indian government is desirable and just. The development of this magnificent country can never take place in its full degree until it is allowed to use its entire resources and revenues in its own development. It is absolutely distinct from India in character, in creed, and in race; it is not even attached to it geographically, except on the map, because you cannot get to India from Burma except by a voyage of 700 miles. Nowadays, when nationalities are so much spoken of, and when justice is claimed for nations, for States, and even for trades-unions, I do not see why a great country like Burma should be tied like a child to the strings of its mother's apron, or rather its step-mother's. It should be allowed full freedom for development. That, of course, is a great question, and one which I cannot deal with to-night.

In conclusion, I only wish on your behalf to express our thanks to Dr. Nisbet for his most interesting lecture, which I am sure has given us not only great pleasure, but a great amount of valuable information. When I talk about those subjects to which I have referred on some other occasion, I trust that all who are here will then be present, because they are matters which not only deal with to-day in Burma, but with the past and future; not only in this existence, but in that which the Burmans, at any rate, believe is coming hereafter. (Applause.)

DR. NISBET having thanked the meeting for their vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the Council of the East India Association on November 25, 1907, the following resolutions were passed :

"It was resolved that the Council of the East India Association record their deep regret at the death of their Colleague and Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, whose devoted and admirable services on behalf of the Association had extended over many years, and they desire to convey to his widow and family an expression of their heartfelt sympathy."

"The several applications for the vacant Hon. secretaryship were fully considered, and it was unanimously resolved that Mr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., be elected. It was understood that if Mr. Pollen visited India he would arrange with Mr. Pennington or otherwise for the work during his absence."

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### THE LATE MR. ARATHOON.

WE have been favoured with the following interesting memoir by Mr. F. H. Brown, the London correspondent of the *Times of India*, Bombay :

The last time I met Mr. C. W. Arathoon, the late honorary secretary of the East India Association, was only two days before his sudden death, and it was in circumstances illustrative of his keen and unwearying interest in the welfare of India and her peoples. He was one of a small number of Europeans present at a meeting of Indian Mahomedans held at the Caxton Hall on Saturday, November 9, to protest against the disabilities imposed upon His Majesty's Indian subjects by the anti-Asiatic legislation of the new Transvaal Parliament. I exchanged a few words with him on that occasion in reference to a then impending meeting

of the East India Association, and little thought that this would be the last time I should see him. On the following Monday, less than forty-eight hours later, he was seated at his study table, busy with papers and correspondence, when he was seized with heart failure, and passed away with startling suddenness. He was only in his sixty-third year, and his friends had not observed any abatement of powers of mind or body. Thus he died, as perhaps he would have wished to die, in harness; and there is peculiar appropriateness in his last public appearance having been in the capacity of a sympathizer with the Transvaal Indians. The association of which he was honorary secretary was, I believe, the first public organization to take steps to arouse general interest in the question of the treatment of British Indians in South Africa, and to make representations, both written and oral, to Downing Street on the subject. It maintained the agitation with undiminished zeal year after year, and its distinguished chairman was chosen as the head of the deputation which in November, 1906, introduced Messrs. Ghandi and Ally, delegates from the Transvaal, to Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary. To know Mr. Arathoon was to esteem and respect him, and I regard it as a privilege and honour to be asked by the executive of the Association he so long and faithfully served to pay a tribute to his memory in the magazine where its Proceedings are placed on official record.

Mr. Arathoon was born at Dacca, and belonged to the prosperous Armenian colony long settled there, his own family being well known and successful in professional life in Calcutta and Northern India. He was educated at the Doveton College, Calcutta, and as a young man came to this country to study for the Bar, receiving his call thereto in June, 1868. In the preceding April he married Elizabeth Sarah, youngest daughter of the Rev. James Mainsty, Rector of Easington, Durham, a lady who has fully shared his keen interest in the welfare of India and Indian sojourners in our midst. In the autumn of 1868 they went out to India, and Mr. Arathoon practised for three or four years in Lucknow, where a brother of his is to-day the doyen of the Oudh Bar. But they returned to this country early in the seventies, and from that time forward Mr. Arathoon has practised before the Judicial



Committee of the Privy Council, thus supplementing his income as a landowner in India. As junior to barristers of the highest renown, or as principal counsel, he has been associated with many important Indian appeals, and had probably a longer experience of the chief appellate tribunal of the Empire than any other Anglo-Indian barrister. But it is with his work in and for the East India Association that we are chiefly concerned in this *Review*. He joined the Association very soon after his return from India, and the records show that he became a member of the Council nearly thirty years ago, when Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., was chairman, and Captain Walmer secretary, with Mr. Walter H. Burn as assistant secretary. Captain Walmer retired in 1882, and Mr. Burn succeeded to the secretaryship, Mr. Arathoon being appointed managing member of the Council to advise and assist the secretary. Thus his secretarial work covers a period of a quarter of a century. After General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh and General Sir Richard Meade had successively served in the chair, Sir Lepel Griffin accepted that position, and as the financial condition of the Association rendered the retention of a paid secretary no longer possible, Mr. Burn left, and Mr. Arathoon kindly accepted the position of honorary secretary, filling it with conscientious devotion to the day of his death.

The combination in executive administration of Sir Lepel Griffin's commanding influence and strong personality with Mr. Arathoon's quiet, unwearied diligence was a happy one. It would be affectation to omit here recognition of the patent fact that Sir Lepel Griffin has been the inspiring force through whom the Association has in the last ten or twelve years exercised a greater and more salutary influence in the formation and education of English public thought on Indian questions than at any other period of its career. But Mr. Arathoon contributed materially to this end by his loyalty, zeal, discretion, and promptitude in giving administrative effect to the policy laid down by the chairman and the Council; by the care with which he placed in their possession all relevant facts connected with proposals for meetings; and by the courtesy and kindness of heart he showed to all associated with the work in hand. He spared himself no labour in correspondence and interviews



to ensure the selection of dates for lectures most convenient to those more immediately concerned, and in doing all within his power to secure good attendances. Essentially a man of peace, he quietly removed difficulties, and so promoted the smooth working of the machinery of the Association that between him, the Council, the members, and the lecturers, there was the most cordial understanding. Personal ambition and self-seeking was never allowed for one moment to stand in the way of his single-minded aim to promote and advance the objects of the Association, and thereby to do good to India. The objects of the Association, as defined in its title and as indicated in successive reports, were near to his heart—so near that self-effacement in their prosecution was not merely habitual but unconscious. In preference to saying more on this subject myself, I will quote the tribute of his accomplished successor, Dr. John Pollen, from a letter I have his permission to cite :

"I never met a kindlier or more modest and retiring man than Arathoon. He never put himself forward in any way, but was always quietly, faithfully, and zealously devoted to the best interests of the Society, and he got on equally well with the European and the Indian members of the Association. It will be very difficult indeed to adequately fill his place, and his sudden death has deprived us not only of a kind personal friend, but of a faithful and devoted fellow-worker for the furtherance of the objects and policy of the East India Association. I have consented to succeed him because I am sincerely anxious to serve India, and to help in the common efforts which are now being made by the Indian societies in London to bring about a more satisfactory state of things between East and West. I feel there are others who could succeed our departed friend far better than I, but I yield to no one in my honest desire to help the land to which I owe a debt of gratitude."

Keen and sustained as was Mr. Arathoon's recognition of responsibility in connection with the Association, he did not consider his official duties constituted the sum total of the service he could render India and her sons. Not only was he diligent in attending all gatherings, social and intellectual, connected with India promoted by other organizations; with the hearty and gracious co-operation of

Mrs. Arathoon, he systematically contributed to the problem of bringing West and East together in the most effective of ways—that of private hospitality and personal kindness. As Mr. K. G. Gupta said at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association last May, private hospitality to Indian sojourners in England is of far greater value than the semi-public hospitality of Association "At Homes," for, besides constituting an unmistakable mark of personal interest, it introduces these young fellows to the healthful atmosphere of English home-life. Mr. Arathoon not only loved his home with the ardour of an affectionate and homely nature, he rejoiced to share its charms with young men from the land of his own birth. There are hundreds of men now in official or professional life in India who look back upon the Sunday afternoon "At Homes" in Ladbroke Grove given by Mr. and Mrs. Arathoon as among the brightest and happiest of their memories of sojourn in this country. And this and all other services to his fellow-men were animated by a devout and reverent spirit, by quiet but sustained Christian idealism. He was not oblivious to—indeed, he was exercised by—movements of thought in our day in the direction of religious scepticism, but they did not impair the essentials of his faith, his all-sustaining, all-comforting repose in the Divine Fatherhood. Those who were intimate with him, and to whom he opened the deeper springs of his nature, knew something of the reality and the abiding reality of the spiritual and eternal side of his being. With the loss of his son, a youth full of promise, there came a wistfulness into his life and a depth of feeling such as had not been noticed before. But he abode his time in patience and did the day's work quietly and steadily, setting a high example of domestic and public virtue to the young men from India he was ever ready to befriend. His sorrowing widow and daughter have the abiding satisfaction of knowing that he has earned his rest by labours for which both the country of his birth and the country of his residence owe his memory a debt of gratitude, and which won him the affectionate regard of many hundreds of his Indian fellow-subjects.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## REORGANIZATION OF THE COLONIAL OFFICE:

## DESPATCH TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES.\*

DOWNING STREET,

*September 21, 1907.*MY LORD,  
SIR,

SINCE the Conference of Prime Ministers separated in May, I have had under my consideration the arrangements which would most suitably carry out the pledge which I gave at that Conference so to endeavour to arrange the work and the staff of the Colonial Office as to constitute a separate branch of that Office for dealing with the business of the Self-Governing Colonies, and to connect with it a permanent Secretary who, with such assistance as may be found to be necessary, will be specially charged with the duties, retrospective and prospective alike, imposed or contemplated by the periodical conferences.

Before the close of the late Session of Parliament I was able, on August 22, to make a brief statement in the House of Lords indicating the lines upon which those arrangements will be based, of which I enclose a copy, and I will now proceed to make some comments upon the scheme for the information of your Prime Minister and his colleagues.

2. The resolution on the subject which was adopted at the late Conference was as follows :

" That it is desirable to establish a system by which the several Governments represented shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been, or may be, subjects for discussion, by means of a permanent

\* The despatch was sent to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and Orange River Colony.

secretarial staff, charged, under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Conference, of attending to its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs."

I indicated my views on the subject in the following terms :

" I am prepared to say that we will endeavour, I think we shall succeed, to so separate the departments of this Office that you will have in the Office . . . a distinct division dealing with the affairs of the responsibly governed Colonies ;" and again

" What we have in our minds to carry out, and hope to be able to carry out in the future, is that we should appoint a gentleman on our staff to be the Secretary for the Conference—not for one Conference only, but to continue the business as a member of the staff of the office and in a division of the Office, as I said before, but that being his specific duty, thereby focussing all the business in the way which I think the members of the Conference in their various resolutions expressed the desire it should be."

3. Your Ministers are probably aware that the business of the Colonial Office has been arranged up to the present time mainly on geographical lines, though there is a General Department, to which certain matters common to all the Colonies are referred. This General Department I propose in future to strengthen and enlarge, but otherwise to make the line of division in the Office one of status rather than of geography, and to separate entirely the work of the Self-Governing Colonies from that of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. The only exception will be in the case of those Crown Colonies and Protectorates in the Pacific and connected with South Africa, whose interests are so closely related to those of the adjoining self-governing Colonies that the conduct of their business at this Office

must necessarily be entrusted to the same hands. The Colonial Office will therefore in future be divided into three branches or departments, one dealing with the Self-Governing Colonies, a second dealing with the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, and a third—the General Department.

4. The first of these three departments will be known as the Dominions Department, the term being used to differentiate the status of the self-governing provinces of the Empire from that of the Crown Colonies. All the business of every kind connected with the self-governing communities will be included in its scope, though certain matters of general routine must necessarily be shared with the General Department; and the staff of the Dominions Department will, with the exception mentioned above, be in no way concerned with the Crown Colonies.

All questions of emigration will be referred to this Department, and it will keep in close touch with the Commercial Intelligence Committee of the Board of Trade.

5. The Secretariat of the Imperial Conference will be linked to this Department, without being entirely merged in it. The Secretary will be a member of the Department, but he will also have his own special and separate duties; and he will have, as occasion requires, direct access to the Secretary of State. I suggest, as a matter of convenience, and also in order to emphasize his position, that on all matters of routine arising out of and connected with the Imperial Conference the Secretary and the Colonial Ministries shall correspond directly with each other, the correspondence in all cases passing under flying seal between the Secretary of State and the Governor-General or Governor. I shall also be glad to learn to what extent your Ministers may desire to suggest that the High Commissioner or Agent-General in this country should act as an alternative channel of communication, as I am anxious to establish close and harmonious relations between them and the Secretariat. The Secretariat, either directly or



through the Dominions Department, will be represented on, or closely allied to, the Commercial Intelligence Committee.

6. The second department of the Colonial Office, which will be styled the Colonial or Crown Colonies Department, will deal with all the administrative and political work of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates, which forms a great and growing charge; and the third, or General Department, will be also the Legal Department, and, in addition to the general routine business of the Office which is now transacted by it, and to all personal questions arising in the Crown Colonies, will deal with various matters common to all the Crown Colonies—such as currency, banking, postal and telegraph matters, education, medical and sanitary questions, pensions, patronage, and so forth. In connexion more especially with this Department four standing committees will be established—viz., a Patronage and Promotions Committee, a Railway and Financial Committee, a Concessions Committee, and a Pensions Committee.

7. The permanent staff of the Colonial Office includes at the head of the office the Permanent Under-Secretary of State and four Assistant Under-Secretaries. The Permanent Under-Secretary of State will remain as now the permanent head of the whole Office and the principal adviser of the Secretary of State. The four Assistant Under-Secretaries will be allotted as follows. Mr. Antrobus will take control of the Crown Colonies Department, with its very heavy and important work. Mr. Cox will have control of the General Department; he will as a rule preside over the Standing Committees, and, as Legal Adviser, his services will, as now, be utilized in connexion with all the departments. The Dominions Department will be under the control of the Senior Assistant Under-Secretary, Mr. Lucas, and with him will be associated Mr. Just, the Junior Assistant Under-Secretary, whom I have nominated to be Permanent Secretary to the Imperial Conference. Mr. Lucas's long experience of Colonial administration in

this Office is supplemented by special knowledge of emigration questions; and he will bring to bear upon his new duties many years' close study of Colonial history. Your Ministers need not be reminded that Mr. Just was one of the Joint Secretaries to the late Conference; he has served in the Colonial Office since 1878, acted as Assistant Secretary to the first Colonial Conference in 1887, and has had personal experience of South Africa. He is, in my opinion, well qualified for the important post to which I have appointed him, and I am confident that on his part and on the part of those who will assist him every effort will be made to carry out the work of the Secretariat with efficiency and success.

8. Such is an outline of my proposals for rearranging the work of the Colonial Office. They are made in the strong desire to promote the interests of all parts of the Empire, and to produce efficient and sympathetic treatment of the manifold questions that arise. I ask for, and I am confident that I shall receive, cordial co-operation from all concerned.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ELGIN.

*Enclosure.*

BUSINESS OF SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES.

THE EARL OF JERSEY: I desire to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies the Question which appears in my name, viz.:

"If he is in a position to communicate to the House the steps for the better ordering of the business of the Self-Governing Colonies, and of the Imperial Conferences which at the recent Conference he stated to be in contemplation."

In asking this Question, I will only say that at the recent Conference a strong desire was expressed that there should

be some rearrangement at the Colonial Office which would enable that Office to be in closer touch with the Self-Governing Colonies, and also to provide for the work of the Imperial Conferences. That matter was left with the noble Earl the Secretary of State. It could not be left in better hands.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (the Earl of Elgin): I need not say that I shall be as succinct as possible at this hour of the night. But, as the noble Earl has said, this is a matter which has attracted a good deal of attention, not only in this country, but also in the Colonies, and I should like, as I am now able to do, to give some explanation as to the steps which we propose to take. The first resolution which was adopted by the late Conference had in it a passage which I desire to quote. It said:

"That it is desirable to establish a system by which the several Governments represented shall be kept informed during the periods between the Conferences in regard to matters which have been or may be subjects for discussion, by means of a permanent secretarial staff, charged, under the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the duty of obtaining information for the use of the Conference, of attending to its resolutions, and of conducting correspondence on matters relating to its affairs."

This proposal was submitted by myself on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and therefore what I have to do is to say how I propose to redeem the promise which I then gave. It will be remembered that there were other proposals before the Conference on this subject. There were resolutions which had been prepared by the Colonies of Australia and New Zealand and the Cape, and the propositions embodied in them were supported by the representatives of those Colonies at the Conference. They suggested the appointment of a Secretariat, independent

of the Colonial Office, by the Conference itself. To that arrangement His Majesty's Government took exception on the ground that it was entirely inconsistent with the Ministerial responsibility which exists, not only in this country, but also in each and every Colony which enjoys self-government, and we were supported in that view by several members of the Conference, and especially by the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Sir Wilfrid Laurier speaks with so much authority and distinctness that I desire to give his opinion in his own words. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said :

"I am quite satisfied upon the principle conceded, that what is done is to be done on direct responsibility. That is the only subject, as originally proposed, to which I demurred, because it seemed to be the creation of an independent body. The moment it is recognized here that it is to be under direct responsibility, I am satisfied. I am quite prepared to accept the new principle, but I would not like to commit myself immediately to the drafting of the resolution, which perhaps may be improved."

Now, my Lords, I cannot refer to any division list—we fortunately did not take many formal divisions at the Conference—but the fact remains that though the representatives of the Colonies to which I have referred supported their own propositions, the resolution which I have quoted was finally adopted without a dissentient voice. I am obliged, however, to trouble the House with another quotation, because the concise language of the resolution itself might otherwise not be so clearly understood. In the course of the discussion I endeavoured to remove, so far as I could, any ambiguity as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government. On the first day I defined our position as follows. I said :

"If you accept our proposition that we should with Ministerial responsibility provide the link which you

desire, and which we think you reasonably desire, between Conference and Conference, you should allow us a free hand in other respects. . . . The proposition which I put forward I put forward on my own responsibility as Secretary of State for the Colonies, but with the assent of my colleagues, and I hope therefore that the Conference will give it at least as favourable consideration as possible. . . . We will endeavour, I think we shall succeed, to so separate the departments of this Office that you will have in the Office, in the form which we shall present it to you, a distinct division dealing with the affairs of the responsibly governed Colonies. I will not say it will be exactly apart, because there is, and must be, at the head, at any rate, a connecting link between the several parts of any office, but there will be one division which you will feel will be concerned with the business of all the Self-Governing Colonies, and not directly with that of the Crown Colonies."

On the second day I found it necessary to add a further explanation, and I said :

"What we have in our minds to carry out, and hope to be able to carry out in the future, is that we should appoint a gentleman on our staff to be the secretary for the Conference—not for one Conference only, but to continue the business as a member of the staff of the Office and in a division of the Office, as I said before, but that being his specific duty, thereby focusing all the business in the way which I think the members of the Conference in their various resolutions expressed the desire it should be. That is what we hope to do, and that is the reason we use the expression 'secretarial staff.' You quite understand, I think, that we can make that arrangement without interfering with the responsibility or organization of the Office, but still in such a manner, I think, so far as it is



capable of being done within the walls of the Office, as to meet the wishes that the other members of the Conference have expressed. That is the meaning of the expression."

Upon that Sir Wilfrid Laurier remarked :

"I do not care how it is expressed, so long as it is on Ministerial responsibility—that is the only thing I attach importance to."

I think, therefore, my Lords, I have made it quite clear that the idea of an independent body was not entertained by the Conference, and in the second place that the idea of a scheme within the walls and under the responsibility of the Colonial Office was fully before the Conference and was entertained. That being so, the only scheme which I can be expected to lay before your Lordships this evening is one on those lines. I shall not detain the House by any description of the organization of the Colonial Office as it is now. It may suffice to say that the geographical divisions into which it was, I think, originally divided have become somewhat obscured by the gradual accretions of spheres of duty in many parts of the world, and it is not very easy now to define any very distinct principle on which it is organized. The work generally, however, is divided into four Departments under the four assistant Under-Secretaries of State, above them standing the permanent Under-Secretary as the head of the Office, and a link between them and the Secretary of State. I hope that will be sufficient in order to make the change we now propose to introduce intelligible to your Lordships. What we propose to do is to divide the Office into three Departments instead of into four. The first of these Departments we propose to term the Dominions Department. It will deal exclusively, or practically so, with the Self-Governing Dominions beyond the seas. The only work outside the business of those Dominions would be that originating in certain Protectorates or Possessions which are geographically

or otherwise connected with the Dominions. I may mention as instances in point, at this present moment, the Protectorates in South Africa under the charge of the High Commissioner, and the islands of the Pacific. The other Departments do not, of course, come directly under the question of the noble Lord, and so I shall not deal with them in any detail, but I may mention that we propose to term the second Département the Colonial Department. It will, of course, deal with the Crown Colonies, and it will be a very heavy Department on account of the immense amount of administrative work and control involved in the management of the many Crown Colonies and Possessions of the Crown, and the ever-increasing importance and value that attaches to them. The third Department will be called the General Department. It will deal with the legal, financial, and other general business of the Office, and I may mention that under this Department we propose to establish a new feature in the shape of certain Standing Committees to take a collective view of such matters as contracts, concessions, mineral and other leases which come to us from all parts of the world, and also the matter of patronage, which is one of considerable importance and delicacy in the Colonial Office. This is the arrangement of the business of the Office which we propose to introduce, stated in general terms. I shall not trouble the House with any details, but I will just simply say, to prevent any misunderstanding, that we are not dealing only with the superior officers, but we are working out a reorganization throughout, with all the necessary divisions and subdivisions.

I proceed to the other branch of the subject, which is the personnel, and I propose to place at the head of the Dominions Department the Senior Assistant Under-Secretary of State. Mr. Lucas is a gentleman of very high academical and literary distinction, who has managed, even amongst the preoccupations of his official duties, to find time for works of merit on Colonial, and especially on Canadian, history. He has had a long experience of Colonial administration,

and his attractive and sympathetic personality has made him many friends in every quarter. I am certain that the task of recommending this new Department to our brethren beyond the seas can safely be entrusted to him. Second to this appointment, and probably one which will attract even more interest, is the nomination of the Secretary to the Conference. I have already quoted what I said to the Conference in regard to this matter. My promise was to take from our own staff a gentleman for the special duties arising out of the work of the Conference connected with what had passed and leading up to the future. I say at once that this post ought to be filled by a man of proved ability, of wide experience, and of a standing which will justify him in having access, whenever necessary, direct to the Secretary of State. I am glad to say that I can secure at once continuity from Conference to Conference. I feel that I am able to promote to this new post the gentleman who occupied the position of Joint-Secretary to the late Conference. Mr. Just has an experience of Colonial affairs which is second to none, and a special knowledge of South African business, having visited the country himself when the Secretary of State of the time paid a visit to it. He has an unsurpassed capacity for work, and the papers which he prepared for the last Conference were never mentioned without its members expressing their appreciation. He holds the rank of Assistant Under-Secretary, and I claim that in appointing him to this post I am appointing a man of experience, of merit, and of position, which ought to secure for it the esteem which its best friends desire. I will not go further to-night; I will not mention other members of the staff by name, but I will only just observe that I feel I shall be able to find men in our Service who have visited our Self-Governing Colonies, and I shall be only too glad to profit by their experience.

I think it right to make one remark as to a very unfair prejudice which is sometimes excited by semi-contemptuous references to Colonial Office clerks. That is an expression

calculated to mislead, but I am sure it will not mislead in this House. It is well known by all who care to know that the higher ranks in the Public Service of this country are filled by members of the great Civil Service, of which this country is proud, and from which the requirements of India, as well as of England, are met by the same examination and from the same lists. The gentlemen in the Colonial Office have passed the severest educational tests. Many of them possess University distinctions, and they are men who have ungrudgingly devoted the best years of their life to work which no doubt has moments of great interest and excitement, but which is, after all, apt to be monotonous and is certainly arduous, unceasing and responsible beyond that of most men. I would only remark that that career is open to all subjects of His Majesty, and is open to our brethren beyond the seas if they choose to qualify themselves for it ; and, as I ventured to say in the Conference, possibly under the influence of the Rhodes Scholarships more Colonials will enter our ranks. We shall be only too happy to give them a welcome. I would only just say one word in conclusion. I have pointed out that it was the decision of the Conference itself which limited me definitely to the line of advance which I have pursued. I maintain that I have carried out my mandate fully and without reserve, and though I am not without sympathy with those who think that there are more advanced posts that might be occupied at some future time, I venture to say that we have at the present moment taken possession of the most advanced post which we can safely occupy. After all, representative institutions are the truest defences of our liberties, and we must make the machinery of government conform to the requirements of the representative institutions which we possess. I think I have now given the noble Lord all the information which at this time to-night it is reasonable to inflict upon the House.

THE EARL OF JERSEY : I think the statement the noble Earl has just made clearly shows that he has carried

out what seems to have been the understanding, judging by the Blue book, at the recent Conference. I believe also his decision to have a Dominions Department for the Self-Governing Colonies will be received with great satisfaction in other parts of the Empire. I was also glad to hear him say a word on behalf of the staff of the Colonial Office. It is true that sometimes criticisms are passed on the staff, but, after all, criticisms are passed on the very best of staffs, and they no doubt sometimes arise because people do not get exactly what they want. Those who have had the opportunity of dealing with the Colonial Office, whether as regards the Chief or those who serve under him, will say that they have always met there with the greatest ability and also the greatest courtesy, and I trust in the Dominions of the Crown the same satisfaction will be felt as I feel with the remarks which the noble Earl has made with regard to his decision in the rearrangements of his Office.

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#### THE CONGO: AN APPEAL TO THE NATION.\*

SIR,—The concurrence of Great Britain in King Leopold's African enterprise was absolutely conditional upon pledges affecting two main factors, which experience has shown to be interrelated: the well-being of the native population of the Congo, and the unrestricted freedom of their commercial intercourse with the outside world.

This interrelation formed, indeed, the substance of the appeal addressed by King Leopold to the civilized world in 1884, and was repeatedly accentuated by the plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers throughout the discussions which took place at the Berlin Conference.

It was a co-operation between the philanthropic and religious forces of this country and the leading Chambers of Commerce which alone made the creation of the Congo Free State possible.

In the declarations exchanged on December 15, 1884,

\* Congo Reform Association, 4, Oldhall Street, Liverpool.



the International Association is stated to have been founded "for the purposes of promoting the civilization and commerce of Africa, and for other humane and benevolent motives"; and the British Government declared "their sympathy with, and their approval of, the humane and benevolent purposes of the Association, and hereby recognize the flag of the Association, and of the free States under its administration, as the flag of a friendly Government."

Sir Edward Malet, British Plenipotentiary at the Berlin Conference, indicated with equal clearness the grounds of British concurrence. He said:

"I cannot forget that the natives are not represented among us, and that the decisions of the Conference will, nevertheless, have an extreme importance for them. The principle which will command the sympathy and support of His Majesty's Government will be that of the advancement of legitimate commerce, with security for the equality of treatment of all nations, and for the well-being of the native races."

The undersigned believe that the time has now come to place on record prominently, briefly, and in summarized form, some, at least, of the chief reasons which justify the popular demand, advanced by all classes and sections in this country, for the abrogation of the existing system of misrule on the Congo, and for the total disappearance of the fundamental claims and practices which render such misrule inevitable. They ask to be permitted to do so through your columns, and they accompany this summary with an earnest appeal to the nation to support, irrespective of difference in politics or creeds, the British Government in such measures as international Treaties provide, national honour and responsibilities dictate, and the present critical conditions imperatively demand, to secure justice and good government for the native races of the Congo.—We are, sir, your obedient servants, RANDALL CANTUAR.; J. RENDEL HARRIS (President of the Free Church Council); MONKS-

WELL (President of the Congo Reform Association; A. H. D. ACLAND (President of the National Liberal Federation); MAYO; LONSDALE; CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH; H. H. JOHNSTON; JOHN H. KENNAWAY (President of Church Missionary Society); CHARLES W. DILKE; BRAMPTON GURDON; GILBERT PARKER; J. RAMSAY MACDONALD; E. N. BENNETT; W. C. STEADMAN; THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., Litt.D.; FRANCIS W. FOX; H. R. FOX-BOURNE (Secretary Aborigines' Protection Society); TRAVERS BUXTON (Secretary British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society); GEO. WATSON MACALPINE (Chairman of Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society); H. GRATTAN GUINNESS, M.D. (Acting Director of the Congo Balolo Mission); JOHN H. HARRIS (Congo); LAWSON FORFEITT (Congo); JOHN HARROP (Lord Mayor of Manchester); JOHN JAPP (Lord Mayor of Liverpool); J. MATTHEW OUTBRIDGE (Lord Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne); ROBERT STYRING (Lord Mayor of Sheffield); S. BORDER (Lord Mayor of York); WILLIAM BILSLAND (Lord Provost of Glasgow); E. D. MOREL (Hon. Secretary, and Member Executive Committee, Congo Reform Association).

For some years after its foundation the Congo Free State appeared anxious, notwithstanding persistent rumours to the contrary, to carry out the principles proclaimed at its birth.

In 1892, however, a series of regulations, emanating from Brussels, which did not become known until later, and some of which, indeed, have become accessible but recently, were secretly established. These regulations struck at the most elementary rights and liberties of the native population. Such natural produce of the soil as possessed negotiable wealth was declared to be the "property" of the "State." Natives and Europeans engaged in peaceful commercial intercourse were denounced as poachers and receivers of stolen goods. Officials were instructed to bend their whole energies to the acquisition of revenue in the shape of ivory and india-rubber, and to

the raising of a powerful native army. A system of bonuses, proportionate to services rendered in these dual respects, was established under conditions which necessitated gross and habitual outrage. These regulations were to prove the basis for the elaboration in successive stages of a system which has deprived the native population of its proprietary rights in land and in the produce of the soil by vesting them in "landlords" resident in Europe; and, by a natural sequence, imposing upon the native population a species of servitude which, for ruthless barbarity and destructive effects, forms one of the darkest pages in the history of slavery.

The results attending these regulations were not long in making themselves felt, as the area affected by them increased with the increase of the troops necessary to enforce them; and as further regulations of a similar character succeeded one another with systematic regularity, reports of outrage grew in frequency and in horror. Information of a shocking character continued uninterruptedly until 1903, and continues to this day to be received from the Congo. In that year, after a debate which showed complete unanimity, the House of Commons adopted a strongly worded resolution, calling upon the Government to invite the Great Powers to a new Conference.

The invitation was given, but was not accepted.

In 1904 the Foreign Office issued a White book containing a long report from His Britannic Majesty's Consul in the Congo, Mr. Roger Casement, and a shorter one from the Earl of Cromer. These, taken together, amply corroborated the unofficial testimony of a decade. Strong representations were thereupon made to the Congo Free State by Lord Lansdowne, and, the agitation in this country being greatly strengthened by the creation, under the chairmanship of Earl Beauchamp, of the Congo Reform Association, King Leopold despatched a Commission of Inquiry to the Congo. Although further discussions took place in 1904, and again in 1905, in the

House of Commons, it was felt that nothing further could be done until the Report of the Commission appeared.

The Commission returned to Belgium in March, 1905. Eight months elapsed before its Report saw the light. It was eventually published, robbed of much of its importance through the suppression—contrary to the pledges given to Lord Lansdowne by the Congo authorities—of the whole of the evidence taken. It, nevertheless, confirmed in every essential particular previous indictments. It disclosed the existence of a vast system of oppression—criminal, according to the printed laws of the Congo Free State—and it established with terrible significance that the directing power behind the system emanated, not from Government head-quarters on the Congo, but from Brussels itself. The Report would have seemed to us to render obligatory upon the Sovereign of the Congo State the prosecution, or, at the very least, the dismissal, of prominent officials on the Brussels Executive staff. No steps of the kind were taken, however, and the only sequel to the Report was the appointment of the "Reforms Commission," composed of fourteen members, ten of whom consisted of the incriminated officials themselves, and of financiers directly concerned in Congo exploitation.

For six months the British Government pressed for this Commission's Report and for the withheld evidence. The latter has never been published at all, and it was not until June, 1906, that there appeared, not, indeed, a Report from the "Reforms Commission," but a document signed by three leading officials on the Brussels Executive staff so clearly incriminated by the Report of the Commission of Inquiry. This document was little more than an elaborate defence of the policy followed hitherto, interspersed with regulations providing illusory "reforms." The document was accompanied by a royal manifesto, in which King Leopold virtually repudiated all obligations under the Berlin Act, spoke of the Congo as though (in the words of Sir Edward Grey) "he were the owner of private property," and put

forward claims—which he has since translated into acts—characterized by Lord Lansdowne as “extravagant pretensions.”

Public opinion would have warmly endorsed drastic action by His Majesty's Government, but a new factor had arisen—Belgium. Up to the early part of last year the official attitude of the Belgian Government had been one of *non possumus*. Belgium—the Belgian Government declared—had no right of control over, and no responsibility for, the proceedings of the Congo Free State, which was a “foreign” State for Belgium. This attitude the Belgian Government was compelled to modify, and at the conclusion of an exhaustive debate the Belgian Chamber resolved to examine, without delay, the question of annexation. From that time up to a few days ago—a period of eighteen months—His Majesty's Government have been waiting for the proposals of the Belgian Government. Public opinion has loyally, although reluctantly, supported the Government in this attitude; loyally, because of the confidence held by all parties in the character of its Foreign Minister; reluctantly, because the interminable delays which have actually occurred were foreseen, and because reports from the Congo, both official and unofficial, have shown during the whole of this period that conditions were getting worse instead of better. But by a remarkable series of public demonstrations the public have testified in this interval of waiting that nothing but a complete reversal of the existing system of destructive slavery, perversion of economic principles and secret finances, will satisfy the British people now that it is aroused to a sense of its responsibilities towards the native races of the Congo.

Recent events have, unhappily, led to the belief that the confidence in the rulers of Belgium, very properly assumed by His Majesty's Government, has been misplaced. The proposals of the Belgian Government are now seen (by the Colonial law) to leave the present system unchanged in all its vital features, with no check at all upon autocratic



control in so far as native administration is concerned ; and a majority of the Parliamentary Commission charged with the examination of these proposals has been found willing to concede to autocracy what autocracy required above all—financial control. The Sovereign of the Congo State has by decree vested a personal claim to ownership over a portion of the Congo territory one-sixth the total area (which, in direct violation of international treaties, he has exercised, in fact, for eleven years) in “companies” which disguise but feebly his own personality. To these “companies” it is designed to give powers which would, in fact, alienate the territory concerned and its revenues from Belgian supervision, even nominal, in the event of annexation. These and other measures would appear to indicate the grave peril that Belgium may be formally committed to such a course as would be disastrous to the supreme human issues at stake, and make it impossible, in the opinion of the signatories, for our own Government to acquiesce in what is taking place.

There is in this country nothing but respect for the Belgian people, and appreciation of their difficulties. We trust no quarrel will be forced upon us by the attitude of Belgium's rulers. We have always been anxious that the true facts of the case should be laid unrestrictedly before the people of Belgium, but in the absence of any indication that the nation is prepared to assume the burden of the Congo on the only conditions capable of ensuring just government to the natives, the time has come, in our judgment, for the British Government to lay the whole case before the Powers responsible with us—though in a lesser degree—for the creation of the Congo State.

Any administration of the Congo which leaves the essential claims and practices of the present system unchanged, whether under an autocratic or a national régime, must, in view of their own responsibilities in the matter, be intolerable to the people of this country.

If appeal to the Powers should again fail, we hope and

we believe that the British nation, on the strength of our Treaty rights, our historical traditions, our clearly defined responsibilities towards the native population of the Congo, and our legitimate interests as an African Power, would approve and support such independent action as the Government may find it practicable to take, in order to render impossible the continuation of a state of affairs which is a disgrace to our common humanity and a menace to civilization in the Continent of Africa.

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#### THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

SIR,

The need of an organization to foster British trade abroad, and to protect the interests of British communities overseas, has long been experienced. Having no Parliamentary representative, Britons, on leaving England, have practically no means of making their voice heard, and too often find their needs neglected. The Overseas League will help them by ventilating, and obtaining redress for, legitimate grievances, as occasion arises.

The offices of the Overseas League are at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W.

The Overseas League proposes to further the interests of British subjects resident in foreign countries, and to promote British trade. The League will also make known the wants of British colonists overseas, and in general will seek to foster the welfare of the Empire.

The Overseas League will use every constitutional means to achieve these objects, and invites the support of persons of all shades of political opinion.

Trusting that your readers will co-operate in the accomplishment of these aims, since it is only by advancing British trade that we can hope to retain our proud place among the nations of the world,

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

A. G. WISE, *Secretary.*

CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER,  
LONDON, S.W., ENGLAND.

THIRD SERIES. VOL. XXV.

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A Morocco Committee has just been formed.

The objects of the League with respect to Morocco are as follows :

1. To further British interests in Morocco.
2. To assist British subjects resident in Morocco, both individually and collectively, as necessity arises.
3. To watch closely and attentively events in any way related to the question of the "open door" in Morocco ; and to use every legitimate means for the maintenance of equal trading rights for all nations, in the fullest degree, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Act of Algeciras.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

A. CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD. ; LONDON.

1. *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, by ADOLF ERMAN. With 130 illustrations. Published in the original German edition as a handbook, by the General Verwaltung of the Berlin Imperial Museum. Translated by A. S. Griffith.—This work by Professor Adolf Eрман, the founder of the Modern School of Egyptology in Germany, has been well and concisely done, and as a handy manual of the Egyptian religion it is certainly worthy of a wide circulation. That it was originally written as one of the special series of handbooks provided by the Berlin Museum is in itself a sufficient guarantee of its intrinsic excellence. Limited as he was to the scope of his work, it was not possible for Professor Eрман to do more than give an outline of a religion that lasted over so long a period. To attempt the description of a human factor that existed some 4,000 years, and that underwent so many changes and variations, is wellnigh an impossible task. But from first to last it is obvious that the subject has been dealt with by one who has made a deep and consistent study of it ; and to Professor Eрман belongs the credit of being the first scientist who has presented the Egyptian religion to us in historical perspective. His endeavour throughout, in fact, has been to exhibit the development and decay of a great religion through a varying course of more than 3,000 years. And he has succeeded well. Beginning with the religious beliefs of the earliest period—from the founding of the united kingdom of Egypt (about 3300 B.C.), a period that intrudes upon the prehistoric era—he goes on to describe the creed, with its various offshoots and gorgeous ceremonies, as it existed during the period of the Middle Kingdom, that covered the eleventh to thirteenth dynasties from 2000 to 1800 B.C. Then follows a picture of the cult as it flourished under the New Kingdom, comprising the

eighteenth dynasty (1580-1320 B.C.), the great epoch of Egyptian power, and the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties (1320-1100 B.C.). Under this head were embraced also the following periods: the so-called Libyan, an intermediate time, of which little is known; the Saitic period, comprising the twenty-sixth dynasty, the time of the Saitic kings (663-525 B.C.) and the time of the Persian domination (525-332); the Hellenic period, comprising the time of Alexander, the Ptolemaic kings (332-30 B.C.), and the Roman domination (from 30 B.C.).

The maze of gods and goddesses, with their ever-varying emblems, their mysterious and luxuriant symbolism, their stupendous temples and monuments, their magnificent ceremonies and gorgeous ritual, that Professor Erman introduces us to, is simply bewildering. It is a maze within a maze. The deities alone are simply legion, yet, wonderful to relate, a legion that was surpassed by the fecundity of the Aryan imagination. But from amid the tangle some few stand out as deities who were of greater moment to the priests and people. Thus Re, the sun-god; Bast, the cat-headed; Thoth, the ibis-headed moon-god; Anubis, the ancient jackal-headed god of the dead, who was later succeeded by Osiris; Sobk, the crocodile-headed water-god; Ptah, the divine sculptor; and Khnum, the ram's head, Set the destroyer, Amon, Isis, Horus, etc.; above all, Osiris and Isis, and in the end Isis alone. It is interesting and instructive to see with what acumen and foresight the kings and priests co-operated together—"one of the most remarkable aspects of Egyptian religion," as the Professor calls it. But there was nothing very remarkable or singular in this. From the very earliest of times royalty and theocracy had played into each other's hands; originally, in fact, priests had been of royal blood, so that the support each gave the other was mutual, and, after all, only natural. In this way the question of power and influence was more or less equally divided. The kings retained the temporal power with the bribe of divine honour and deifica-



tion, the priests the spiritual. They were the guardians of the gods and the dispensers of their gifts, and it is noticeable that from first to last they stuck to these prerogatives like leeches.

These considerations notwithstanding, it is a sad and melancholy reflection to think that these temple histories of 4,000 years came to an end among disorderly tumults that were fomented by the fanaticism of the then uprising Christian creed. And the worst of it all is that the horrible scenes which brought the ancient cult to a close in Alexandria, the street fights and the storming of the temple of Serapis, were repeated in the provinces. Sadder still to think that "it was among quacks and thieves that the ancient gods of Egypt found a final place of refuge—these same gods for whom the temples of Karnak and Memphis had once been built, and who for thousands of years had formed the spiritual influence and guiding genius of a great nation"—of a people, too, who, it might be added, were deeply and sincerely religious. Thus fell a fabric that for so long had resisted and survived the changes of dynasties, the shock of battle, the fate of empire, and even the inroads of inexorable Time—fell, as in the course of natural evolution must fall all institutions that are products of human energies.

As Professor Erman himself points out, his work is purely that of an Egyptologist. He has made no attempt to gauge the psychologic interpretation of the so-called mysteries of this ancient cult; but his researches are none the less valuable for that, for while the data he has placed at our disposal is a mine of knowledge in itself, he has also left a wealth of information, out of which the intelligent ethnologist can establish or arrive at many conclusions that are bound to prove of scientific value to the cult of religion in general—this, too, without relying upon his imagination alone, but from the experience of other primitive cults; as well as by means of comparative inclinations. —ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON.

2.—*The Chinese Language and How to Learn it*, by SIR WALTER HILLIER, K.C.M.G., C.B., Professor of Chinese, King's College.—Sir Walter Hillier, whose powerful wings would take him very high, has not hitherto soared into the dizzier regions of *la haute sinologie*—that is to say, into the domain of history, of philosophy, or even of philology; but for forty years past he has enjoyed an unrivalled reputation as a fluent and accurate speaker of the Pekingese colloquial; and in 1886 he even published a modified and enlarged edition of Sir Thomas Wade's immortal "Tzŭ-êrh-chi," which may be said to form the permanent bottom-work of the "mandarin," or at least of the Peking spoken language, so far as European students are concerned. For this reason alone—apart from the fact that Pekingese is by reason of its metropolitan prestige the most fashionable of all "mandarin" forms—the dialect of the capital, as developed by Sir T. Wade and Sir W. Hillier, is *par excellence* the one for all official students to learn, because it is the only one that has been thoroughly worked out for all it is worth, and that has been scientifically explored to the very utmost, so to speak, and committed to paper, with adequate "grammars" and dictionaries galore. Sir Walter Hillier is, therefore, of all "foreigners" perhaps, the one most competent to introduce new and illuminating ideas upon the subject of studying Pekingese with modest practical objects in view, and his little book may be said to satisfy a real want. Its leading features are: (1) That a student in England can break the back of Chinese with one thousand characters, and (2) the best way to do this is to work it through what is to most intents "pidgin"\* English. With this we cordially agree, and the fears expressed in his introduction by Sir Walter that *Fachmänner* may not see eye to eye with him in this matter are quite unneces-

\* "Pidgin" is a corrupt form of the English word "business" or "pizhiniss."

sary—at least so far as one University (which shall be nameless) is concerned, where the “pidgin” system is always adopted, in order to keep daily progress in line with “grammar,” and where precisely one thousand characters form the basis of a degree subject. Of course, as Sir Walter well points out, no student in England can hope to do more than fashion a skeleton; to make the dry bones instinct with flesh and movement he must go to Peking for at least a few months (carefully avoiding the sceptics of Shanghai); and that is exactly what students from the unmentionable model *Alma Mater* above referred to are in the habit of doing. There is no necessity here for going through all the author's explanatory and self-justificatory remarks, which are hereby declared judicious, and are accepted throughout; especially to be commended are those wise words upon pp. 34, 35, 61, 73, 112, and 173, anent “pidgin,” visiting the country, courtesy, the confusing Western grammar, and “radicals” (quite an unnecessary *corvée*). There are, however, about fifty instances where the “tones” have been printed wrongly—usually the fourth in mistake for the first—but a reference to the character index, where they are printed correctly, proves that the reader or the printer's devil must be at fault; indeed, Sir Walter Hillier and a false tone would be like Paderewski and a false note. It may be suggested, however, that “nail” (pp. 92, 204) is “even” as an object, and “fourth tone” as a verb; also that *k'ung* or *k'ung-êrh* (p. 86) is “fourth” when it means “leisure”; so with *t'o-tang* (p. 151). There are certain ultra refinements in pure Pekingese which have never been recognized by the “Tzŭ-êrh-chi,” such as, for instance, the “tonic irregularity” of words which are theoretically in the “entering” tone. The two most perfect examples are *pu*, “not,” and *yi*, “one”; a less perfect example is *pi*, “must.” No absolutely pure speaker of Pekingese ever fails in making the proper distinction, but what that distinction is—though it is a matter of certainty—is altogether too complicated a

question for the "ordinary man." Sir W. Hillier very properly recognizes one or two less obscure local refinements, however—e.g., *ch'ih<sup>2</sup>-ts'un<sup>4</sup>* (p. 135), instead of *ch'ih<sup>3</sup>-ts'un*, to which he might have added *chu<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>4</sup>* (p. 70) instead of *chu<sup>3</sup>-i<sup>4</sup>*; such sublimities (of which there are many) are well within the reach of ordinarily careful students. Sir Walter has not quite seized the point of the clumsy Chinese "spelling" system (p. 5): the division of syllables given by him is not *sha(ngye)n*, which suits no southern dialect, but into *sh(ang)en*, or *ien*, which suits all. How it suits Peking is only intelligible to those who understand the "cutting" system introduced by the Sanskrit monks. It may be here explained, however, that the first half controls the initial and the tone "series"—i.e., whether it is surd or sonant; the final half controls the vowel and the tone—i.e., whether it is "even" or "slanting." Dr. Chalmers had, and possibly Mr. L. C. Hopkins has, an understanding of this mystery, which, though subtle, is quite scientific and exact, no matter what irregularities *seem* (to a Pekingese speaker) to be involved.—E. H. PARKER.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND  
CALCUTTA, 1907.

3. *Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon*, by HARRY STOREY. With sixty-nine illustrations from photographs, and map. Mr. Storey considers that Ceylon may still be considered as one of the sporting countries of the world, and hence this production. Besides his own experience the work contains contributions from other sportsmen, such as Mr. Thomas Farr, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Gordon Reeves, Mr. F. L. Reeves, Mr. M. L. Wilkins, Mr. J. J. Robinson, Mr. E. L. Boyd Moss, Mr. N. C. Davidson, Mr. H. R. Spence, Mr. S. Payne-Gallwey, and Mr. R. A. G. Festing. The only book dealing with sport in Ceylon is that, fifty years ago, by Sir Samuel Baker, "With Rifle and Hound in Ceylon." Mr. Storey's interesting volume will be a welcome and



refreshing record of what is still in store for the traveller and the sportsman residing in or visiting this beautiful island. The author's experiences have been acquired by taking trips yearly, or twice a year, during the last fourteen years; and with the view to supplement his experience, he has obtained contributions from the best-known sportsmen in Ceylon. In that way Mr. Storey has furnished a comprehensive survey of all kinds of game at present existing in the island. Besides small game, there are elephant, buffalo, elk, deer of various kinds, leopards, bears, fishing, etc. In the appendices there are hints on camp equipments and costs of trips; a list of vernacular terms in Singhalese and Tamil for birds, beasts, food-stuffs, camp furniture, etc., and an excellent map, showing in colours the places or districts where the various kinds of game may be found. The illustrations are interesting, embracing scenery of various places and districts, persons, game, trophies of the gun and rod, and camp life.

4. *The Strength of Nations: An Argument from History*, by J. W. WELSFORD, M.A., formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The author, in a concise and clear manner, examines the fiscal question in the light of European History, from the beginning of the Christian era to the present time. He endorses the principle that the power of obtaining the production of others, as in the time of Imperial Rome, by the ancient method of tribute, or the modern method of interest on foreign investments, is a source of national weakness rather than of national strength. "The histories of Rome and Spain amply illustrate this. During the Middle Ages this truth was to a large extent recognized, and Constantinople, the Italian cities, the German cities, and Holland, in turn tried to become rich and strong through international trade. As long as the trade centre was able to keep her customers apart the trade system was successful. Constantinople was not only able forcibly to interpose herself between the East and West, but, in her provinces, she



controlled a great number of servile producers ; her empire lasted 1,100 years, and only ended when the Western Europeans were forming themselves into nations. The economic idea of a nation, the union of agricultural production, industry, commerce and shipping under central control is admirably illustrated in the history of England. The production of wool was first fostered and protected until a monopoly of the raw material was acquired ; by the sternest protective measures this monopoly was used to found English supremacy in weaving, and then in dressing and dyeing the woven cloth. On industrial production, commerce and shipping were firmly established by similar protective measures. Dazzled by the ephemeral profits of international trade European communities failed to realize that union and production are the only sure foundations for strength." On this principle, other nations having failed to act upon it, "Great Britain acquired absolute supremacy in productive power, and her statesmen adopted free trade, trusting that other nations would follow her example. Had their dream been realized Great Britain would have become the workshop and the centre of a world of nations competing to supply her with raw materials and buy her finished products." Other nations, in their wisdom, failed to adopt her scheme of free exchange, and hence Great Britain has had recourse to the fatal system of "free importation." The writer truly observes : " If now Great Britain wishes to repeat her past success, it seems as if she must revert to her former methods. In an economic union of the British Empire, tropical raw material will be linked to British industry, and the new combination will have no need to fear foreign competition." This is forcibly argued and demonstrated by historic facts in the decline, fall, or prosperity of European nations, past and present. These facts have been ably compiled from authoritative histories, a list of which is given. He who reads and inwardly digests the contents of this work ought to run in the right direction. The volume also contains a chronological table

of the events noted, and a minute and useful index. We earnestly recommend all who wish to solve the important problems now presented to the British Empire to procure and study this valuable work.

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LUZAC AND CO., GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1907.

5. *Reflections on some Leading Facts and Ideas of History: their Meaning and Interest. The Ancient World. An Historical Sketch and Comparative Chart of Principal Events, with Special Chapters on the Bible Lands.* 3 vols. By C. W. WHISH (late Indian Civil Service), author of "Reform and Progress in India," etc. The first volume is introductory to a study of history of the various parts of the world as a whole, as suggested by Schiller, when appointed Honorary Professor of History at the University of Jena in 1789. The author considers that, had Schiller's teaching been followed out, "he would have accomplished a veritable revolution in historical study." What is wanted, he says, "is not what is generally called universal history," but "a well-digested whole, which shall establish the utility of the study." And what he aims at is "to select such facts and ideas as are concerned with human progress, and as illustrate the continuity of history, to direct attention to the personages connected with these facts and ideas." Hence, in this preliminary volume he has confined himself to two grand topics—of political achievement and race, and has also endeavoured to suggest more than one general thread, by means of which a continuous view of human annals may be obtained. Our space, however, does not permit us to follow the details of the scheme, which he expounds. He has constructed various charts which give, in a skeleton form, his views and opinions. And in order to carry out his scheme he earnestly pleads that a millionaire may establish and endow an historical university and an historical library.

His second volume gives important and interesting re-

flections on some leading facts in connexion with the history of the ancient world, with special reference to Bible lands.

The *third* volume is titled "The Græco-Roman World ; or, The Struggle of East and West during a Millenium of World Empire," in which eight chapters are devoted to India, and are reprinted in a pamphlet form. We earnestly hope that in the course of time the author's high aspirations may be amply realized.

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JOHN MURRAY ; LONDON.

6. *Storia do Mogor ; or, Mogul India*, 1653-1708, by NICCOLAO MANUCCI, Venetian. Translated, with introduction and notes, by William Irvine, Bengal Civil Service (Retired). Two vols. This work, which begins with these two handsome volumes, is a real addition to the sources of our knowledge of Mogul India. It has never been printed in its entire form before. Part of it was mangled by François Catrou, a Jesuit, one of a body hated by the author, and incorporated in 1705 and 1715 in a book of his own, "*Histoire générale de l'Empire de Mogol depuis sa Fondation*," and then without the consent of the unfortunate author ; and it is only recently that other MSS. of his have been found in Berlin and Venice, which made the publication of the present work possible. They are made the more interesting by being illustrated from the volume of portraits in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which Manucci had painted by an official in the household of Shah 'Alam—one Mir Muhammed—before he left the Mogul dominions in 1686. Niccolao Manucci's biography has hitherto been almost unknown. He seems to have left Venice in November, 1653, having hidden on board a vessel bound for Smyrna. There he met that meteoric noble Henry Bard, Viscount Bellomont, then on his way to Persia, who took him into his service. They travelled through Persia, and were proceeding to Delhi when Bellomont died, in 1656, and Manucci entered the Mogul capital alone. There he entered the service, as an artillery-

man, of Prince Dara, the son of Shajahān, and fought against the victorious Aurangzeb. Adopting medicine as a profession, he became attached to the Court of Jai Singh, of Amber, but resigned in 1666. He narrowly escaped the Inquisition at Goa, and escaped, disguised as a Carmelite, returning to the more tolerant Mogul cities, and, having had the good fortune in 1678 to cure one of Shah Alam's wives of an ear complaint, was made one of the Court physicians. He assisted the Portuguese in 1683 as ambassador to the Maharattas, and was made a Chevalier of St. Iago. Once more detained by Shah 'Alam as an "absconder," he escaped from his irksome service, and after a life *che fu piena d' accidenti curiosi*, took refuge at the English settlement of Madras in 1686. There he married a Catholic widow, *née* Hartley, and was employed by the English as interpreter and agent, and was envoy in 1702 to the Moguls who were besieging Madras. In 1706 he moved to Pondicherry, but was in 1712 granted a leasehold house and garden in perpetuity, and he seems to have died about 1717, an octogenarian.

The book is of the deepest interest. All the biographical account is of much value, and of the historical matter the earlier part, where he did not rely upon first-hand information, is, of course, of the least weight. After the accession of Shajahan his sources are contemporary, and, as the editor points out, "certainly for the latter years of that reign, and for the fifty years of Aurangzeb, Manucci is a writer whose statements cannot be ignored. He gives stories of the Mogul Court derived, perhaps, from backstairs gossip, but which are not to be found elsewhere; and his long residence in the country renders his information more valuable in many instances even than that of Bernier. The chief personal note is the attachment the writer bore to Dara Shukoh, the first Prince he served under, and his dislike of his supplanter, Aurangzeb. The intrigues of the latter and his settlement of family interests by dynastic marriages are very curiously related. We wish we had space to quote



many tales from the "Storia," but as we have not we must content ourselves by referring our readers to the original, which is printed through the munificence of the Government of India.—A. F. S.

7. *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social*, by SIR ALFRED C. LYALL, K.C.B., D.C.L. First and Second Series, 2 vols. The first volume of this series contains a reprint of eleven well-known essays which have been out of print for several years. Of these eleven one has been omitted in this edition, and the one on China has been transferred to the second volume. Ten of these essays relate to India, being mainly the outcome of personal observation in certain provinces, and of personal intercourse with the people. The author discusses with clearness the history and present condition of the religious and social life of the people; a careful study of which gives an interesting insight on various subjects peculiar to Asiatics and their institutions. India, as Sir Alfred Lyall in his preface points out, "not only presents a sort of picture in which one may recognize and examine for ourselves many of the features and incidents of early history, it also gives us a connected view of society in different stages, of various forms of tribal organization, of different systems of rule and conceptions of sovereignty. The country affords a field of remarkable abundance for the collection and verification, at first hand, of living specimens of various types, especially for the study of early ideas on the subject of religion and rulership, and for observing the general movement of Asiatic society, which appears to be, not unlike ancient European society, in a state of arrested development." In proof of this he selects the province of Berár, and then proceeds to analyse the origin of the divine myths of India, the relation of religious beliefs to the state of morality—witchcraft and non-Christian religions, missionary and non-missionary religions, the formation of some clans and castes—the political institutions of the Rajpút States, our policy in India in relation to religious questions, and the situation of religious



beliefs in its various aspects throughout the country in view of western ideas and missionary activities. Vol. II. includes the author's well-known letters, under the signature of Vamadeo Shastri, and his opinion on the relations between the State and the religion in China; "The Golden Bough: a Study in Comparative Religion"; origins and interpretations of primitive religions; natural religion in India; history and fable; and permanent dominion in Asia, according to Pearson's prediction, that China would become a dominant military power; Lord Curzon's views to the contrary, and the question whether European dominion in Asia will expand or eventually contract. Thus Sir Alfred Lyall, in his series of important discussions on the highest subjects that can engage the human mind, concludes as follows in reference to China: "At the present moment Russia and France appear to be joining hands with the object of establishing an ascendancy over China, and our own diplomatic action points towards a policy of alliance with the Japanese sea power. For such a policy there is much to be said; yet we must not forget the very large extent to which England is interested in the maintenance of the Chinese Empire, whose frontier runs for several thousand miles with our Asiatic frontier. On the whole, we can never look for a better neighbour than China has been to us—exclusive, uncommunicative, but pacific and incapable of aggression—and the substitution of France or Russia for China on some section of this long border-line would benefit us not at all. It is true that a numerous and well-armed Chinese force just across our Burmese border might not precisely suit us in every respect. But a strong and warlike Celestial Empire would be much more inconvenient to France, and even to Russia; for probably Russia's views would be best promoted by preserving China, like Persia, to stew in her own juice, and to decay until she can easily be dismembered, or until she dissolves naturally. It is to be feared, however, that the reformation of China is so far beyond measurable distance

as to be out of the range of effective political discussion except for the purpose of reminding those whom it may concern that, if the Japanese War does prove to have been a turning-point in Chinese history, there is still a possibility of its leading toward revival instead of to decadence or disintegration." Each chapter of this remarkable work embraces a valuable "contents," and each volume a minute index.

8. *Portuguese East Africa: The History, Scenery, and Great Game of Manica and Sofala*, by R. C. F. MAUGHAM, H.B.M. Consul for the districts of Mozambique and Zambezia, and for the territory of Manica and Sofala. With map and illustrations. The eloquent, experienced, and keen sportsman tells us he has written his book "for the traveller, the sportsman, and for him whose delight lies in those scenes of natural, unembellished beauty and grandeur, which Africa possesses in such profusion and variety." He introduces the main subjects of his admirably illustrated work by giving a short history of the Portuguese in East Africa, from the arrival of Vasco da Gama, in 1502, down to the present time, including the founding of the Mozambique Company, which received its royal charter on February 11, 1891. The immense territory, estimated at upwards of 17,000,000 hectares of country, has been divided, for convenience of administration, "into nine districts and seven sub-districts—namely, Macequece (pronounced "Massikess"), Sofala, Chiloane, Govura, Buzi, Mossurize, Neves Ferreira, Gorongoza, and Sena." The first four are on the coast, Sena on the Zambezi, Mossurize and Macequece on the mountainous Anglo-Portuguese frontier, and Neves Ferreira, and Gorongoza upon what may be conveniently described as the central plain. The work contains graphic descriptions of scenery on the coast, rivers, mountains, and plains, flora, fauna, birds, insects (innumerable), reptiles, big game, lions, leopards, elephants, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, buffaloes, antelopes, and numerous other creatures. The author describes his experiences as

a sportsman; the character, the habits, the customs, and languages of the natives; climate and health, and hints as to guns, ammunition; camp equipment and other necessities, provisions, etc.

The following are two specimens of the author's numerous sports: "On going up one of the streams," he says, "as the canoe now turns a bend, and the paddlers with one accord cease paddling and whisper 'Nguena,' as, upon a sandpit, jutting into the water, we see reposing the sleeping forms of half a dozen huge crocodiles. The effect of coming unexpectedly upon these hideous, loathsome amphibians is, in a way, uncanny. They lie stretched upon the sand, the tips of their serrated tails drawn clear of the water, looking for all the world like large, dingy tree-trunks. If suddenly disturbed, they raise themselves upon their short legs and bound into the water with a heavy, hollow plunge; but if approached in such a way that they detect the intruder at a distance, they re-enter the water stealthily and almost imperceptibly, the horrible head remaining just awash until within quite a short distance of the approaching boat, when it is gently withdrawn from sight. . . . There is probably no more dangerous, more stealthy, or more universally hated and feared branch of the creation than this unnecessary intruder into the wide family of the mammalia. He is the veritable curse of nearly all African waterways. It is given to few to witness his tremendous onset and irresistible rush; his immense activity and enormous jaw-power are such as to render escape impossible, save by miracle, from the moment he fastens on his prey."

In hunting among elephants the author gives the following graphic description: "Marching one morning, about 7 a.m., between Mana-muri and Tambula's, through fairly open country, containing the isolated jungle-belts to which I have referred elsewhere, fairly high grass, and scattered groups of *Hyphæne* palms, the foot-prints of an apparently large elephant were crossed soon after sunrise. As in

the case of my tuskless cow, of which I was not unmindful, I halted the carriers, and, accompanied by my two hunters, Lenco and Patrinka, carrying the '303 and the double, 8-bore, we laid ourselves out on the spoor. Rain had fallen lightly during the night, a circumstance which greatly facilitated tracking, and, more important still, if possible, had softened the fallen leaves, so that they no longer crackled beneath one's feet. Plunging into the saturated undergrowth we were soon wetted through, but, regardless of this, we speedily began to overhaul our beast, which Lenco (than whom there exists no steadier or more enthusiastic tracker) assured me, in a hoarse whisper, was one actually a few minutes ahead of us. We proceeded thus, however, for over an hour, crossing one stream in no less than three different places, backwards and forwards, when, half-way through a grass patch of fairly considerable height, and advancing with the utmost caution, I suddenly espied the huge dorsal ridge of a large elephant fifteen or twenty yards to our left. He had evidently heard but not winded us, for he was standing with extended ears and raised trunk looking backward suspiciously in our direction. A few yards to our right stood a high ant-heap, topped with bamboos and willow-like 'kala-chulu,' and for this we noiselessly made. On reaching it I ascended a few feet, which gave me a clear view of the bull's right flank and head, from the position of which I surmised that he had turned slightly away while we retreated to the ant-heap. I could see one moderate-sized, nicely curved tusk, but the other appeared to be hidden by the grass in which he was standing. It was really an awkward shot, as, from his angle, I saw that a bullet aimed at the temple would probably rake too far forward to touch the brain; however, I resolved to try it, and, aiming for the hindmost edge of the depression behind his eye, fired with the '303. With a loud, shrill trumpet, and shaking his massive head, he went off through the grass at a great rate, and, snatching the 8-bore, I was just in time to give him the right barrel



in the flank as he disappeared round the corner of the bamboos behind which we were standing. He roared loudly as the heavy 1'164 grain-bullet propelled by 10 drachms of black powder struck him, but it appeared to have only the effect of increasing his speed. We hastily descended, and forcing our way through the intervening grass, took up the spoor of the fleeing monster. It was soon evident that the second shot he had received from the heavy rifle had inflicted a severe wound, as quantities of blood, evidently thrown from his trunk, lay thickly along the track. After about half a mile he slowed down to a walk, and zigzagging groggily along for some distance, at length, to my relief, turned up wind, and made his way through an open belt of isolated palm thickets. Suddenly we came upon him standing on the edge of the palms, looking back very suspiciously, the great ears outthrust and the waving trunk unceasingly searching for some taint in the air. I noiselessly crawled up to within a distance of about twenty yards, and again tried the '303, but as I pulled the trigger he must have moved slightly forward, for the only effect of the shot was to make him stumble and draw another shrill trumpet from him. I therefore discarded the Lee Metford, and seizing the double 8-bore, ran in and fired at the extreme edge of the great ear as it lay over the point of the shoulder. He now shook his head violently until his ears rattled, making at the same time a querulous noise in his trunk, whereupon I gave him the second barrel in the same place, which brought him down with a crash." Our space does not permit us to give further descriptions, many of which are full of thrilling incidents.

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E. MARLBOROUGH AND CO. ; 51, OLD BAILEY, LONDON, E.C.

9. *Egyptian Self-Taught (Arabic)*. Containing Alphabet and Pronunciation, Vocabularies, Elementary Grammar, Idiomatic Phrases and Conversations, Travel Talk, Money, Weights and Measures. By Captain C. A. THOM.



Third edition. Revised and enlarged by Major R. A. MARRIOTT, D.S.O. In a former edition we gave it as our opinion that this handy manual would be greatly appreciated by officials, soldiers, and travellers in Egypt, and we are pleased to find that the demand has been such as to necessitate the production of a third edition, which has been carefully revised by Professor Flinders Petrie. Sir Alfred Milner, K.C.B., Dr. Andrew Watson, Captain H. C. Pritchard, Mr. D. A. Cameron, and other scholars, have made useful suggestions.

10. *Hindūstānī Grammar Self-Taught*. In four parts. By CAPTAIN C. A. THIMM. Second edition. Revised by Shams'ul 'Ulamā Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrāmī. This edition has also received the help of Mr. J. F. Blumhardt, M.A. This linguistic handbook has therefore been entirely revised. Many valuable suggestions have been embodied, involving the rewriting of several pages; and new matter of a useful description has been added, including the numerals and sentences in English and Hindūstānī, in the romanized form. Students and others will find the handbook an exceedingly useful help to the study of the Hindūstānī language.

11. *Japanese Self-Taught, with English Phonetic Pronunciation*. Containing the Syllabary, Classified Vocabularies and Conversations, Travel Talk, Trade and Commerce, Army and Navy, Religion, Post-Office and Correspondence, the Numerals, Money, Weights and Measures. Edited by W. J. S. SHAND. The special aim of this small book is to meet the need of those who require to make use of the spoken language without the usual expenditure of time and effort necessary to acquire the grammar. It therefore supplies the words in common everyday use, classified according to subject, including extensive vocabularies for the Army and Navy, Trade and Commerce, Missionary Enterprise, Travel, and other subjects, together with a large number of colloquial phrases and sentences of a practical nature similarly classified. Throughout these

sections the pronunciation of the Japanese words is added according to Marlborough's system of phonetics, which is so simple as to enable anyone speaking English to read or speak, although previously unacquainted with the language. The work is both useful and interesting. The editor was twenty-seven years resident in Japan, and has had four years' experience as Director of the School of Japanese Language and Literature in London. The following are a few specimens of idiomatic expressions and phrases :

English.	Japanese (romanized).	Pronunciation.
I am English	Watakushi wa Igrisu desu	Wahtah'k'shee wah eenghee-ree'soo deh's'
I am delighted	Hijō ni yorokobi-masu	Heejoh'nee yohrohkohbee-mah's
Let us go	Ikō ja naika? (fam.)	Eeekoh' jah ni kah?
What time is it?	Mō nan-ji desu?	Moh nahn-jee deh's'?
I want some silk	Kinu ga hoshiu gozai-masu	Kee'noo ngah hoh-sheeo'goh-zi-mah's'
Letter of credit	Shinyō-jō	Sheen-yoh'joh

ALEXANDER MORING, LTD., THE DE LA MORE PRESS ;  
45, GEORGE STREET, HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON, W.

12. *Burma: A Handbook of Practical Information*, by SIR J. GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.I.E., with special articles by recognized authorities on Burma, numerous illustrations by the author and others. This is a most comprehensive handbook of a country little known to the general readers. The author describes Burma as "the most easterly province of the British Empire in India. It is also by a good deal the largest of the Indian provinces. It lies in a bight of the Bay of Bengal, on its eastern shores. Three-fifths of the frontier is formed by a series of mountain ranges, and the waves of a wide sea wash the remaining two-fifths. It is away from the main water-ways of the world, and no great land-route passes through it. The country was, therefore, much less frequently visited by the early voyages than other parts of the East, notwithstanding the tales of

its wondrous wealth in rubies and in gold." The coast-line stretches along the Bay of Bengal a distance of about 1,200 miles. Victoria Point is the most southerly extremity of the province. The most northerly point is not on the sea-coast, but in the interior, and has not been exactly determined. Part I. describes the country and climate, the fauna, flora, geology, and minerals, and the native races; Part II., the government, administration, education, and history; Part III., the industries, including forests, mines, agriculture, trade, transport, currency, and weights and measures; Part IV., archæology, architecture, art, music; Part V., Buddhism; Part VI., language and literature; and Part VII., useful hints to visitors or new residents, such as routes, climate, medicine, and other travelling necessities. In the appendices are noted the divisions and districts of Lower and Upper Burma, the Shan States and their divisions. Lists of the commoner beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, etc.; common trees, shrubs, plants, grasses, flowers, etc.; metals, minerals, and gems; and also a list of authorities on numerous subjects relating to Burma. There are upwards of sixty excellent illustrations of places, persons, pagodas, and scenery, with a map and a copious index. The volume is remarkably well got up, and will prove most useful to visitors, traders, and those engaged in exploration and commerce.

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THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, CHICAGO;  
AGENTS, KEGAN PAUL, AND CO., LONDON.

13. *Chinese Thought: An Exposition of the Main Characteristic Features of the Chinese World-Conception*, by DR. PAUL CARUS, being a continuation of the author's essay, "Chinese Philosophy."—In 1897 and 1898 Dr. Carus published some papers connected with Taoism as compared with other religions, and possibly these may be the "Chinese Philosophy" now referred to. If so, they were efforts of a more sustained nature (so far as mere thought is concerned) than the present book, which seems

to be an *omnium gatherum* of popular notions and superstitions, made easy of digestion by a plentiful sprinkling of quaint pictures, evidently more or less Japanese in execution. The specimens of ancient writing are interesting, but the repetition of that very clever, but very wild, speculator M. Terrien de Lacouperie's notion that Chinese characters were introduced from ancient Mesopotamia is accompanied by no new evidence; on the other hand, Mithraism (though not in "remote antiquity," and together with many other Persian "isms") may well have found its way into China after international relations became active in the fifth century of our era: but the whole of this chapter belongs to the realm of Art, rather than to that of Philosophy. The next chapter, on Chinese Occultism, is an agreeable toy to trifle with, especially for those who like to see our antique old friends, Sumer and Accad, made responsible for Celestial ideas. Why on earth should ideas, if they crossed broad Asia at all, not have originated in China and passed to Accad? Chinese early philosophy whatever its shortcomings, proves that the Chinese, at least 2,500 years ago, were quite the equal of the Greeks in profound thinking; the only reasonable conclusion is that, in order to attain that intellectual eminence, they must have been for millenniums—long before our fabled Creation—quietly civilizing the valley of the Yellow River, where first we find them. Accordingly, we cannot at all agree with any of the following (p. 81): "The evidences that indicate a Western origin of Chinese civilization are very strong, and it seems that the first Chinese settlers must have come in prehistoric times from a country that was closely connected with the founders of Babylonian culture. There is an unmistakable resemblance between cuneiform writing and Chinese script, so as to make it quite probable that they have been derived from a common source"; nor are we aware that "there is an ancient tradition in China of a settlement having been made by a tribe coming from the *Far West*."



It is really not worth while seriously examining the remaining chapters on The Zodiacs of Different Nations, A Throneless King (Confucius), and The Chinese Problem; but the picture (on p. 167) of Buddha sitting between Confucius and Laotsz might commend itself to Professor Herbert Giles, who may decide to instruct us that the figures are merely "demnition" Nestorians. Possibly Dr. Carus is himself not aware that, whilst on page 159 the Chinese inscription tells us the starboard figure is the Emperor of Wu, and the port figure Ts'ao Ts'ao, the English inscription exactly reverses the order of things: this looseness is typical of the whole book.

The proper place for Dr. Paul Carus' two prettily got-up books is a drawing-room commode, or a dentist's waiting-parlour, where in an idle moment, or a moment of poignant torture, the bored visitor may obtain some distraction from encephaloseptic vacancy, pure and simple. The author's conclusion gives us all-too-complacent Westerners one for our nob: "Neither the Chinese nor the Western people are angels: the latter especially cannot easily be whitewashed, as, for instance, no one would dare to defend, or even find an excuse for, the Opium War." In other words, *Non Angeli, sed Angli, minime Americani*.—E. H. PARKER.

14. *Chinese Life and Customs*, by DR. PAUL CARUS. Illustrated by Chinese artists. Dr. Carus has done much more serious work than this essay, which, like his "Treatise of the Exalted One," (reviewed in the April issue of this journal, pp. 400-402), belongs rather to the category of what the Chinese term "Small Literature." Moreover, its literary *raison d'être*, even as explained by Dr. Carus himself, is not very convincing. "Having long searched in vain for a good source of information concerning life in China, we have at last discovered a book, which was published in Japan by a Japanese publisher, assisted by Chinese artists, and entitled 'An Exposition of Chinese Life and Customs under the Chin Emperors' (the present Manchu dynasty). The book bears the title 'Ch'ing hsü Chi Wen,' or, as the



Japanese pronounce it, 'Shin-zok-kih-bun,' and is published in Tokyo." All this is typical of the loose and slipshod style of the work throughout. *Shin-zoku-ki-bun* and *Ch'ing-su-chi-wên* are the respective forms under the usually accepted spelling, and in any case it is absurd to write *Chin* in one line and *Ch'ing* in the next: the Japanese (not the Chinese) habitually use the word *Ch'ing* ("Clear," or Manchu dynasty) in the sense of "Chinese," just as the Chinese habitually use the word "Han" (dynasty) in the sense of "Chinese"; but no Chinese would, or durst, officially use the word *Ch'ing* in the sense of "Chinese."

The work has, indeed, a Japanese flavour from beginning to end, and though the illustrations are very good as illustrating Chinese industries and social life, the modern human figures have a hang-dog, "wobbly-at-the-knees" aspect throughout, suggesting that the assistance of the Chinese artist was only occasional and special; the stiff pig-tails, skimpy coats, rowdy hats, and the flabby attitudes, are always destitute of the true Chinese *wéi-rh* or "smell," and suggest, *mutatis mutandis*—Sir John Falstaff's "pitiful rascals" being marshalled up for military inspection. In short, it seems to be a Japanese book, pure and simple—a book describing Chinese life in Chinese style for the Japanese; just as much as were purely Japanese books, those quaint Japanese publications in European style, describing the Russian War for the Japanese; it is simply Japanese imitative skill breaking out in a new direction.

Having now had our say in the interests of literary truth, we may add, by way of compensation, that the illustrations really do give a very vivid notion of Chinese life as the Chinese themselves *might* pourtray it, and very likely the book will be much more appreciated by the general public than more serious attempts to depict the Chinese mind and philosophy. Americanisms, such as *marvellous*, *plowing*, and *traveling*, are of course to the fore, in a book printed in Chicago, and there are a good many Chinese misprints, such as *wan-wen* for *wan-nien*, *yin-tu* for *yin-fu*, and so on.

Otherwise the book is very pleasant to read and handle, and we can confidently recommend it to those who may wish to while the idle hours away without great expenditure of mental effort. The chapter on Confucianism and Ancestor Worship is very good as a mere popular description; so is that on Taoism and Buddhism; but not only is the Taoist classic "little studied by Taoist priests," it is not studied or even understood at all; modern Taoism is to Lao-tsz's noble philosophy what Kentucky bean-feasts are to the Sermon on the Mount. To describe *hwui-hwui-kiao*, or Islam, as the "whirl-whirl doctrine," or "faith of the dancing dervishes," is arrant nonsense, and not even original at that; it is doubtful if the Chinese ever at any period heard of the dancing mendicants at all. Regarding the "resemblance of Buddhist institutions to Catholicism," the suggestion of Mr. Graham Sandberg (in his monumental work on Tibet) that the Armenian missionaries of the seventh century may have taught these notions to the Tibetans is well worthy of patient consideration, as the present writer has already pointed out in the *English Historical Review* for October, 1906.—E. H. PARKER.

T. FISHER UNWIN; ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON.

15. — *By Veldt and Kopje*, by WILLIAM CHARLES SCULLY, author of "Kaffir Stories," etc. The author has put together more than a dozen very amusing and instructive stories, which give an insight to many of the manners, habits, sentiments, and actions of the natives of Kaffirland, which are not commonly known to the general reader. For example, in the story of the "Lepers," he describes a Kaffir gathering as follows: "A Kaffir 'beer-drink' is a very curious and destructive feature of South African native life. One peculiarity of the 'beer-drink' is that the drinkers pass through several definite stages corresponding with the amount of their potations. In the earlier, the utmost good-humour prevails. Soon, however, comes a period of boasting, which, if different clans are represented

at the gathering, shortly changes into one electric with possibilities of strife; for vaunting leads to irritation, recrimination, and eventful blows. A fierce quarrel may arise from something utterly trivial; any two men present who dislike each other never being at a loss for a *casus belli*. The mere mention of an old garden dispute, or a lawsuit of half a century back between the respective grandfathers of two men who have reached the critical point, is quite enough to set the sticks whirling. Indeed, beer seems to act like a kind of sympathetic ink in bringing every ancient and half-obliterated grievance to the surface. After the quarrel-some stage succeeds one of torpor, and from this the revelers arise with appetites which only meat, and plenty of it, can assuage. Then, unless the giver of the feast be rich and liberal enough to kill for his guests, the flocks and herds of the stock-owners in the vicinity are apt to suffer."

In the story titled "Afar in the Desert," the author thus describes the game: "Owing to the late local rains the pasturage was good, so all the game from the surrounding arid spaces had flocked in. Occasionally the landscape resembled a kaleidoscope, so dense and varied were the manifestations of animal life. Buffaloes would hurtle through the undergrowth, swerving to avoid the tree-trunks with the agility of cats. A black rhinoceros, its wicked-looking head low near the ground, would dash fiercely away, its horn dividing the tangled brushwood after the manner of the cut-water of a boat. Families of wild pigs, their tufted tails held straight up, trotted off with swift quaintness. Herds of gentle giraffes, disturbed at their browsing on the high branches, swayed out of sight, their long necks undulating from side to side. Quaggas, sleeping in the glades, sprang up at their sentinel's warning-stamp, and fled, waking thunders with their hoofs. Fierce-eyed gnus swiftly ambled away. Antelopes, from the hartebeest—big, awkward, and ungainly—to the little russet impala, the very embodiment of sylvan grace, crowded the ever-opening vistas."

One of the most clever and amusing stories is that titled, "Bloxam's Choice." It appears that missionaries, whether bachelors or widowers, want wives to help them in their missionary efforts, and write to their Boards at home to select in their opinion suitable wives. On the arrival of the ladies thus selected and sent out, there is a rule among the missionaries that the oldest men should have the first choice, and it turned out that the oldest generally chose the youngest for his wife, and the youngest had to be satisfied with, it may be, the oldest lady. In the story it came to pass that the youngest lady wanted the youngest missionary, and the problem to be solved by the Resident Missionary and his wife was how this could be brought about so as not to violate the rule. The Resident Missionary's wife was equal to the occasion, and by a cunning plot this delicate problem was solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. To realize the cleverness and the interest of the story the reader must peruse the whole of it for himself. All the stories are exceedingly well told, and afford much instruction and amusement.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Outline of the Vedānta System of Philosophy, according to Shankara*, by PAUL DEUSSEN, Professor of Philosophy, University of Kiel. Translated by DR. J. H. WOODS, Instructor of Philosophy, Harvard University, and C. B. RUNKLE, of Cambridge, Massachusetts (London: Luzac and Co.). Professor Deussen published more than twenty years ago a compendium of Shankara's system, representing the common belief of all thoughtful Hindus, and added a brief outline of Shankara's doctrine. The translation of that outline was submitted to Professor Deussen by Dr. J. H. Woods, after his return from Benares, and carefully revised by him. It has now been published with the view of acquainting American students with Shankara's doctrine. It concisely and clearly explains the fundamental idea of the Vedānta system—its theology, cosmology, psychology, migration of the soul, emancipation, and absorption into Brahman—"that is, the eternal principle of all being, the power which creates all worlds, sustains them, and again absorbs them—is identical with the Ātman, the self or the soul; namely, with that in us which, when we judge rightly, we acknowledge as our own self, as our inner and true essence. This soul in each one of us is not a part of Brahman nor an emanation from him, but is fully and entirely the eternal indivisible Brahman itself."

"As rivers run, and in the ocean  
Renouncing name, and form from vision vanish;  
So names and forms the enlightened Sage renouncing,  
Enters great Brahman, the all-embracing spirit."

*Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle for 1905-1906* (Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1907). Under Part I. there are observations on administrative changes, conservation of ancient buildings, explorations, inscriptions, and expenditure; under Part II.



there are notes of places visited in the districts of Bardwan, Birbham, Naddia, Murshidabad, Puri, Gaya, Patna, etc.

*Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for the Year 1906.* (Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1907.) The number of boys at the end of the year was 166, classified as follows : native Christians 4, Mahomedans 44, Brahmins 10, Low Castes 21, and other Hindus 87. The general behaviour is reported as good. The industries carried on are carpentry, blacksmith's work, painting and varnishing, book-binding, and agricultural operations. The administration of the school by the superintendent, N. M. Pajnigar, is very creditable.

*Indian Spirituality; or, The Travels and Teachings of Sivanarayan,* by MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI, M.A., author of an English translation of the "Bhagavad Gita" (London : Luzac and Co.; Calcutta : R. Cambray and Co, 1907). The object of this well-written book is stated in a prefatory note : "The ensuing pages are put forth in the hope that they will not be refused welcome by those interested in a spiritual survey of India, those in search of spiritual life, those wavering with errors and superstitions, which rob man's arm of strength, his heart of sympathy, and his soul of God. The substance of the volume has, in different forms, seen the light in some of the Indian vernaculars." There is a glossary of the unfamiliar names and expressions occurring in the text. The volume is well worthy of a careful perusal.

*The White Man's Work in Asia and Africa :* A discussion of the main difficulties of the coloured question, by LEONARD ALSTON, M.A., author of "Stoic and Christian in the Second Century," etc. (London : Longmans, Green and Co.). This small volume contains the substance of an essay which gained the Maitland Prize at Cambridge. The author discusses, with much ability, the difficulty of the problems to be solved, the relation of Christian ethics and philosophy to the lower races, administrative difficulties, economic and political considerations. He says, "Where

the administration of half-civilized territories has passed definitely into the hands of Western rulers a question of policy arises, so complex that the greatest of administrators can find no simple answer to it." The author then proceeds to point out the various questions that must arise in carrying out the work of securing municipal action, social reform, and education, with the view of obtaining the benefits of peace, security of property and person, and other constitutional advantages, in their multifarious forms, among uncultivated and half-civilized races.

*Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings, including Records of the Early History of the Kassites and the Country of the Sea*, edited by L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum (London: Luzac and Co., 1907). Vol. I. contains introductory chapters; Vol. II. gives the texts and translations. The volumes give fresh and new information concerning early Babylonian Kings, ranging from the eleventh to the seventh century, B.C.; a new date-list of the Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon; and part of a Neo-Babylonian version of the "Omens of Sargar and Narâm-Sin." With one exception, the tablets, from which the texts are taken, date from the late Babylonian period, but they incorporate traditions referring to some of the earliest Kings of Babylonia and Assyria. The information afforded by these chronicles will enable antiquarians to revise their conceptions of early Babylonian and Assyrian chronology. The texts and inscriptions are beautifully printed. There are copious indices to each volume.

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RELIGIONS, ANCIENT AND MODERN (A. CONSTABLE  
AND CO., LONDON).

1. *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, by THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D., Lecturer in Assyrian at University College, London, etc. This small volume states briefly the position and period of the Babylonian and Assyrian religion, its

nature, its story of the Creation, its principal gods, demons, exorcisms and ceremonies, and the problems which the study of this religion offers.

2. *Hinduism*, by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., D.LITT., Assistant in the Department of Oriental-printed Books and MSS. of the British Museum. The writer states shortly the meaning of the term, the history of Hinduism, its various sects, beliefs, and objects of worship, and a list of selected works bearing upon the Hindu religion.

3. *Islam*, by AMEER ALI SYED, M.A., C.I.E., late Judge of H.M.'s High Court of Judicature, etc. A valuable statement by an able and well-known writer. He states in his short preface that, "generally speaking, the attitude of Christian writers towards Mohammad and his religion is akin to that of the critical Jew towards the Teacher of Nazareth, or of the philosophical Celsus towards Christianity." He hopes that his brochure may be the means of removing some of the misapprehensions of the West regarding the true aims and ideals of Mohammadanism. "A little more knowledge on both sides, a little more sympathy between two religions which have a common aspiration—the elevation of mankind—will largely conduce to the promotion of peace and goodwill on earth."

These volumes give a handy and concise statement of the respective religions above mentioned.

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*Thoughts on Life and Religion.* An After-math from the writings of the Right Hon. Professor Max Müller, by his WIFE (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd.). This small and handy book of 230 pages contains many important and great thoughts on life and various phases of Christian doctrine. Besides passages from Max Müller's different works, there are extracts from private letters and from writings he had left unfinished. These extracts show his firm conviction that all is wisely ordered in this life, and "all for our real good, though we do not always see it, and though we cannot venture to fathom the wisdom guiding

our steps through life." The perusal of the book will prove a help and comfort to those who have to endure trials, and, as Mrs. Müller beautifully says, it will "strengthen those whose path now stretches before them as a sunny avenue, to meet the sorrows that almost surely await them as life advances." We regret that our space does not permit us to make quotations. We most cordially recommend its perusal to every Bible Christian.

*Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E., Year-Book, 1907.* In addition to the Report of Livingstone College, and interesting notes from the experiences of old students in all parts of the world, the Year-Book contains a concise statement of the progress of Tropical Medicine during the past year. The subject of the prevention of malaria is carefully considered, and particulars will be found concerning the disease known as "Kala-Azar," which is prevalent in Assam, and is considered to be due to a parasite found in the spleen or liver, and is similar to the *Trypanosom*. From examinations and experiments, it is thought that this parasite is conveyed by the bed-bug, and that in districts where the disease is prevalent the spread of it may be arrested by removing native labourers, who are healthy, to new huts, where they may be free from the infection. Under the heading of "The Outfitting Problem" particulars are given concerning the use of quinine, the treatment of black-water fever, and other notes connected with outfit, which will be of service to those going abroad.

*Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society.* Printed privately for the members of the Gypsy-Lore Society, 6, Hope Place, Liverpool. This is the first number of Vol. I. of a new series. It contains interesting articles and many items of information, and a valuable prefatory note by Mr. David MacRitchie, the original founder of the Society. We referred to this Society in our last issue (July), page 187.

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society, founded in 1893; The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.; Proceedings, May, June, and July, 1907.* (Printed for the Society.) This



number (49) contains, among other interesting papers, one on "Russian Relations with Persia from the Earliest Period to the Treaty of Turkmanchai in 1828," by Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell. The other papers to be read this year are: "Impressions of Russia," by the Rev. J. Gleeson, on October 1; "History and Literature of Armenia," by A. Raffi, on November 5; and on December 3 "Russia and Persia" (second part), by Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell.

*Introductory Lecture on Agricultural Investigations in Canada, United States, America, and Mexico*, by PROFESSOR R. WALLACE. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.) Professor Wallace in the course of his lecture points out the Agricultural Department at Washington as an example to other countries. He says it is by far the greatest Government organization of its kind in the world, has now an annual revenue of nearly £1,500,000, and the scientific agricultural effort in the whole country commands an income of, roughly, \$15,000,000 or £3,000,000. The Department possesses the best library of agricultural literature in all languages that has ever existed, and it distributes with a liberality equal to its size and importance the multifarious bulletins of its own production to American citizens who are genuinely interested, and to great public libraries and other reciprocative institutions abroad as well as at home. One and a half million of American farmers participate in the advantages derived from the circulation of the Department bulletins. Not so many years ago the Department was freely criticized, its work questioned, and the reliability of its publications doubted; but it has gained its spurs, and the scene has completely changed. The statistical returns and weather reports are eagerly sought for, the publications are read and appreciated, and the word of the oracle (Secretary Wilson) who presides over and silently inspires this vast scientific organization of workers is waited for by expectant beneficiaries—even to such remote corners as the wilds of Western Texas.



*Series of Articles reproduced from the English "Hindusthan" in Pamphlet Form, Nos. 4 and 5, by RAJA RAMPAL SINH, of Kalakankar (Oudh).* These pamphlets contain a minute criticism of Mr. Morley's famous speech on the Indian Budget, and of Professor Gokhale's paper read at the East India Association in July, 1906. For the latter see our issue of October, 1906.

*Journal of the Gypsy-Love Society, October, 1907, Vol. I., No. 2 (6, Hope Place, Liverpool).* This number contains very interesting articles on gypsy language and history in various parts of the world. There is also a portrait of Dr. Alexandre G. Paspati, and illustrations of gypsy words.

*Things Seen in Egypt, by CLIVE HOLLAND.* (London: Seeley and Co., Limited, 38, Great Russell Street.) This work is full of interesting illustrations, and the narratives are told in a very simple way. It will be exceedingly useful and handy for the sightseer travelling in Egypt.

*The Commercial Possibilities of West Africa, by VISCOUNT MOUNTMORRES, Liverpool University Institute of Commercial Research in the Tropics.* (London: Williams and Norgate, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C.) A valuable paper read at the Royal Colonial Institute, London, on March 19, 1907, and republished by the Liverpool University Institute of Commercial Research in the Tropics. In an eloquent and comprehensive survey of West Africa commercial possibilities, its products, its natives, and cultivators, he sums up the whole—"a veritable widow's cruse which faileth not. Given a large area of productive tropical land, within easy access of Europe, provided by Nature with many river-mouths and harbours, peopled by a sufficient population of skilful and intelligent workers, capable of easy development, and of being administered more cheaply than any other part of the British Dominions, and we are fully justified in viewing, with confident anticipation of a brilliant success, the commercial future of British West Africa."

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The North American Review*;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1907 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Co., publishers, New York and London).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt*, by W. S. Blunt;—*A Short History of Indian Literature*, by E. Horowitz;—*A Literary History of the Arabs*, by R. A. Nicholson (London: T. Fisher Unwin);—*Plagues and Pleasures of Life in Bengal*, by Lieutenant-Colonel D. D. Cunningham;—*Indian Jottings*, by Edward F. Elwin;—*Brahma Knowledge*, by L. D. Barnett;—*The Sayings of Confucius*, by Lionel Giles;—*Arabian Wisdom*, by John Wortabet (London: John Murray);—*The Romanes Lectures*, 1907;—*Frontiers*, by the Right Hon. Lord Curzon of Kedleston;—*Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy*, by A. J. Sarment;—*Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle;—*A Primer of Persian*, by G. S. A. Ranking (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press);—*The Truce in the East and its Aftermath*, by B. L. Putnam Weale (London: Macmillan and Co.);—*Shinto, the Ancient Religion of Japan*, by O. G. Aston;—*The Pulse of Asia*, by Ellsworth Huntington;—*The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, by Ernest Young (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*The Crusaders in the East*, by W. B. Stevenson;—*The Jataka, or Stories of Buddha's Former Births*, translated by E. B. Cowell and W. H. D. Rouse, under the editorship of E. B. Cowell (Cambridge: At the University Press);—*The Marches on Hindustan*, by David Fraser;—*In the Footsteps of Marco Polo*, by Major Clarence Dalrymple Bruce (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons);—*Cradle Tales of Hinduism*, by The Sister Nivedita;—*Bombay in the Days of George IV.*, by Dawtrey Drewitt (London: Longmans, Green and Co.);—*Big Game Shooting on the Equator*, by Captain F. A. Dickinson, with an

introduction by Sir Charles Norton Eliot (London : John Lane) ;—*Ramtanu Lahiri* : a history of the Renaissance in Bengal, from the Bengali of Pandit Sivanath Sastri. Edited by Sir Roper Lethbridge (London : Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd.) ;—*The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, translated from the Tamil by Sir J. F. Price, assisted by K. Rangachari. Volume II. (Madras : Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press) ;—*How to Learn Hindustani*, by Major F. R. H. Chapman (London : Crosby Lockwood and Son) ;—*Calcutta Old and New*, by H. E. A. Cotton (Calcutta : W. Newman and Co.) ;—*The Pirates of Malabar and an Englishwoman in India Two Hundred Years Ago*, by Colonel John Biddulph (London : Smith, Elder and Co.) ;—*Indian English*, by George Clifford Whitworth (Letchworth, Herts : Printed by Garden City Press, Ltd.) ;—*Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism*, by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki (London : Luzac and Co.).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Legislative Council on November 1 passed a Bill for the prevention of public seditious meetings, which empowers provincial authorities to declare any part of their districts a proclaimed area in which no public meetings will be allowed without a written permission, under penalty of fine or imprisonment.

The Government of Bengal issued a strongly-worded resolution regarding the Calcutta riots on October 2 and 3. It declares that the charges against the police were gross exaggerations, and that a most unsatisfactory feature of the disturbance was the fact that they took their origin in the conduct of the usually orderly class. The conclusion is irresistible that the disturbances were the direct outcome of the writings and speeches of agitators.

On November 22 Lord Minto opened the new port extensions at Rangoon. The wharves thus opened are a portion of a scheme involving an expenditure of 130 lakhs of rupees. A river improvement scheme is now to be taken in hand at a cost of 125 lakhs of rupees, of which the Imperial and Provincial Governments contribute 50 lakhs. If the scheme proves successful, a channel will be secured enabling the largest vessels to enter at the lowest state of the tide.

Mr. Syed Hussain Belgrami, Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk, on leaving for England to take up his appointment as one of the native members of the Indian Council in London, was entertained by the British Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Bayley. In reply to an eloquent tribute, Mr. Belgrami said: "I will endeavour to do the best that lies in the service of my King and country. I love my country and my people, and the more loyally I serve my King the better shall I be serving my country. It should be to every native of India a matter of pride to belong to the

most glorious and the most beneficent Empire that the world has ever seen."

The East Indian Railway service has been seriously disorganized by a strike of drivers and others. A Board of Conciliation has been nominated temporarily with respect to the dispute, which is doing its work unimpeded, as the railway authorities and men wish to treat the matter amicably. The men are going back to their work, and the traffic is gradually assuming its former state.

A Commission to consider the whole question of factory labour in India has been appointed. It consists of the following gentlemen: Mr. Morison, of Bombay, President; Mr. Richmond, Inspector of Factories, Manchester; Lieutenant-Colonel Mactaggart, of the Indian Medical Service; Mr. Chitnavis, Deputy Commissioner of the Central Provinces; Mr. Nair, Madras; Mr. MacRobert, Cawnpore; and Mr. Nicol, Calcutta, members; and Mr. Campbell, of the Commercial Department, Secretary.

It has been decided that the head-quarters of the northern army will remain at Naini Tal until March, after which Murree will become the summer head-quarters.

A review of the trade of India in 1906-7 has been issued in the form of a Blue book. The grand total of imports and exports combined was 317,78 crores of rupees, as against 292,14 crores of rupees in 1905-6, being an increase of 25,64 crores of rupees, or 8.77 per cent. The exports represented 57.36 per cent. of the grand total, and amounted to 182,27 crores of rupees, as against 168,15 crores of rupees in the previous year. The imports had a total value of 135,51 crores of rupees, as against 123,98 crores of rupees in 1905-6. The imports of treasure rose in 1906-7 from 31,65 crores of rupees to 44,58 crores of rupees. Bombay was in 1906-7 the only province in which the total value of merchandise received and exported showed a decline.

The Madras Government have published an Order in the Educational Department distributing, from the special



grant of 6 lakhs of rupees in aid of primary education, a sum of 1,47,555 rupees among the District Boards, in order to enable them to meet the cost of the maintenance, in the current year, of the new rural schools opened in 1906-7, and to be opened in 1907-8.

General Kitchener abandoned his winter manœuvres, owing to the impossibility of arranging for supplies for the troops in consequence of the famine.

Mr. Merek, Senior Commissioner of the Punjab, has been selected by the Viceroy as additional official member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council to represent the Punjab; and Mr. Drew, Commissioner of the Southern Division, Bombay, has been appointed to represent Bombay.

Mr. Bustice Sale, of Calcutta, has been appointed Legal Adviser to the Secretary for India in Council, in succession to Mr. Shepherd, whose term has expired.

Sir Walter Roper Lawrence, Bart., G.C.I.E., has been appointed a member of the Council of India.

Dr. Rash Ghose has been unanimously elected President of the National Congress.

Mr. J. S. Campbell, Commissioner of Kumaon, has been appointed Famine Commissioner in the United Provinces.

Mr. James Hume Munro, of the Indian Civil Service, has been appointed a Puisne Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Madras, to fill the vacancy caused by the creation of an additional Judgeship.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—A band of some twenty well-armed raiders, believed to have been Zakka Khel Afridis, on the night of October 5, attacked a village in the Lachi Pargana, twenty miles south of Kohat. They looted the houses of two Hindus, and got off with a considerable amount of property, carrying with them two Hindu lads as prisoners. One villager was killed in the attack.

A serious raid was made by a band of fifty Afridis on November 13 at Lachi Kohat, one villager being killed and three wounded. The Afridis cut the telegraphs, and then ambushed a party of Border Mounted Police, killing two

and wounding two, and escaping with four rifles and many rounds of ammunition.

The village of Pubbi, on the North-West Frontier, has also been raided by a band of Afridis, who attacked an outpost of the 54th Sikhs. The band stole a number of horses from the Revenue Assistant's camp. A detachment of police engaged the raiders at Wadbair. On the night of November 20 another band of Afridis enticed the police from the fort at Bara, near Peshawar, by firing on the neighbouring village, killing three of their number.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Cabul Government has ordered that no grain, ghee, or horses shall be permitted to leave the country, on hearing that the scarcity in India may drain the resources of Afghanistan.

CEYLON.—The total revenue of Ceylon for nine months, ending September 30, was Rs. 26,813,512, showing a net increase of Rs. 1,263,102, as compared with the corresponding period of 1906. The expenditure during the same period amounted to Rs. 21,715,730. The estimated revenue for 1908 amounts to Rs. 35,600,000, which is Rs. 569,339 in excess of the actual receipts of the year 1906, and Rs. 156,400 less than the revised estimate of revenue for 1907. The total estimated expenditure of the Colony for the year 1908 is placed at Rs. 36,388,176, as against Rs. 34,374,289 approved for 1907, and an actual expenditure in 1906 of Rs. 32,644,215.

PERSIA.—The Shah has signed the new Constitution, limiting sovereign prerogatives and ecclesiastical authority, and granting liberty of conscience, of the person, of education, of the press, of associations, and of speech, and outlining parliamentary duties and ministerial responsibilities.

On November 12 the Shah made a State visit to Parliament, and took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. The Premier read a royal speech, declaring His Majesty's affection for the nation.

Mushir-el-Mulk, Minister for Foreign Affairs, made a statement in Parliament with reference to the Anglo-

Russian Agreement. An answer, he said, had been sent to Great Britain and Russia, and copies thereof to the other Powers. Persia declares, first, that the agreement is the concern of the two contracting powers; secondly, Persia reserves her independence of action; thirdly, Persia will continue to maintain the open door; fourthly, Persia is confident of repaying the foreign loans.

The Budget was passed by Parliament on November 10. The deficit was removed. The Civil List is fixed at £100,000.

A discussion took place in Parliament regarding the local press, which has been publishing articles of a seditious nature and misleading statements, with the view of bringing the Government into contempt. The members agreed that it was necessary that steps be taken to arrest this license.

The Cabinet having been dismissed, a new Cabinet has been formed, with Nasir-el-Mulk as Premier and Minister of Finance.

On October 1 fifty-seven princes and nobles took a solemn oath before Parliament to act according to the Constitution.

Ala-es-Sultaneh, who was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs last year, but resigned, has been reappointed to that office in the place of Saad-ed-Dowleh, who had resigned.

Mushir-el-Mulk, the Minister of Justice, has received the title of Mushir-ed-Dowleh, and Mukhber-es-Sultaneh has been reappointed Minister of Education.

Hyacinth Louis Rabino has been appointed His Majesty's Vice-Consul for the provinces of Persia to the south of the Caspian Sea, inclusive of Ghilan, Tenekabun, Mazandaran, and Astrabad, to reside at Resht.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—Sir Eldon Gorst, the British Agent, has visited four Provinces in the Delta, and reports favourably on the progress of education and the general improvement of the country.

Sir William Garstin, G.C.M.G., has been appointed to

succeed Sir John Ardagh as a British Government Director of the Suez Canal.

The note on the Budget for approbation of the Council of Ministers estimates receipts for 1908 £E15,030,000; ordinary expenses, £E13,700,000; special expenses, £E669,000; credit for special expenses for the unemployed in 1907, and carried to 1908, £E370,000; total expenses, £E14,730,000; surplus, £E300,000.

CHINA.—Li Ching fang, the new Chinese Minister, arrived in London on November 9.

An Imperial Edict has been issued for the abolition of the Manchu garrisons throughout China.

JAPAN.—The work of delimiting the Russo-Japanese frontier in the Island of Sakhalin has now been finished. Boundary posts have been set up along the frontier, which is marked by a lane 30 feet wide cut through the forest. The Islands of Moneronya, also called Todomosiriya, and Gobin have also been surveyed, and their exact latitude settled. The exchange of plans and other documents will take place at the end of March next at Vladivostock, where the final sitting of the Russo-Japanese Boundary Commission will be held.

CAPE COLONY.—Sir T. Fuller having resigned the post of Agent-General for Cape Colony in London, Sir S. French, Postmaster-General for the Colony, was, on November 25, appointed his successor.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The elections for the first Parliament under the new Constitution took place on November 20 last, with the following result: Orangia Unie holds thirty seats, and the Constitutional party four, while four have gone to Independent candidates. Of the total of thirty-eight members seven were returned unopposed.

Mr. Fischer is Premier and Colonial Secretary. Mr. Hugh Gunn retains the Directorship of Education, while General Hertzog, the Attorney-General, in addition to this post, holds the position of Ministerial head in the

Educational Department. Dr. Ramsbottom is Treasurer, Mr. Wessels Minister of Public Works, Lands, and Mines, and General De Wet Minister of Agriculture.

ZULULAND.—Murders and outrages having taken place in Zululand, the Government of Natal has issued a proclamation in reference to it, and has sent a force with the view of restoring order and confidence. It is reported that Dinizulu, the leader, will be charged with high treason.

Up to the present time, on going to press, it is stated that after a summons having been sent to him, Dinizulu surrendered to Colonel Sir Duncan Mackenzie at Non-goma on December 10. An official statement is reported to have been issued, from which the following is quoted: "The circumstances of the crimes, the perpetrators of which have in every instance been able to evade arrest, point strongly to a secret combination for the murder of chiefs and others who were loyal to the Government during the recent rebellion. The Government is also aware that other loyal chiefs in Zululand and Natal are marked down for murder. The troops in Zululand have been sent to render assistance to the civil authorities. No other course is open to the Government if law and order are to be maintained."

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE: UGANDA.—The swearing in of Mr. Hesketh Bell as the first Governor of Uganda took place at Kampala on November 26. F. J. Jackson, C.B., C.M.G., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the East Africa Protectorate.

SWAZILAND.—The King received at Buckingham Palace on November 25 the Swazi chiefs, headed by Melunge, the brother of the Regent, who came to this country in the hope of settling a number of questions connected with the tribes, farms, mode of government, etc. The King promised to receive an account of their grievances through the regular channel, and to give the matter his earnest consideration.



NYASSALAND PROTECTORATE.—The designation of this territory, previously known as British Central Africa Protectorate, is changed to the above, and a new Constitution was established on October 21 last.

CONGO FREE STATE.—After considerable discussions upon the condition of the Congo Free State, under the administration of King Leopold, a treaty has been agreed upon between the King and his Government, the substance of which is as follows: Article I. contains the following—King Leopold cedes to Belgium the sovereignty of the Congo State, together with all rights and obligations appertaining thereto. The Belgian State accepts this cession, and undertakes to respect the existing interests in the Congo. Article II.—The cession comprises all real and personal estate of the Congo State, and particularly the properties and all lands belonging to its public and private domain; all shares and bonds, and founder or interest shares; all buildings, constructions, installations, and appropriations whatsoever, established or acquired, in Africa and in Belgium, by the Government of the Congo State, and personal goods of all kinds; the forests, rubber, and other African products, which are the property of the Independent Congo State. Article III.—The cession includes all the liabilities and financial engagements of the Independent State. Article IV.—The date upon which Belgium will begin to exercise her right will be determined by royal decree. The revenue obtained and the expenses incurred by the Congo State from January 1, 1908, will be taken over by Belgium.

ABYSSINIA.—The Emperor Menelik has formed a Cabinet on European lines, and he has also decreed upon compulsory education for all boys over the age of twelve.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—Mr. J. H. Carruthers, the Premier, having resigned on account of ill-health, the Cabinet has been reconstituted, with Mr. C. G. Wade, K.C., as Premier.

The financial year closed with a surplus of £1,471,000. This year's revenue is estimated at £12,799,000, after

allowing £550,000 for remissions of taxation, and the expenditure at £11,949,000.

In pursuance of the policy of actively encouraging speedier settlement, the Government has passed a Bill creating a separate Department of Agriculture. It is the intention of the Government to extend the development of primary industries along the most modern lines, and to equip the new department with full facilities for the practical and scientific education of the settler, thus assisting in securing the fullest productivity of the land.

VICTORIA.—The Victorian Budget shows a surplus for the last financial year of £812,000, and an estimated surplus for the current year of £14,000.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Mr. Wilson, the Colonial Treasurer, in his Budget speech said that the revenue for the past financial year had shown a shortage of £190,000, as compared with the estimate. In railways there had been a falling off of £110,000. The estimated expenditure has been reduced by £98,500. The estimated revenue for the current year was £3,394,000, and the expenditure £3,471,000. The accumulated deficit was £286,000, and the year's deficit was £77,000.

NEW ZEALAND.—The New Zealand House of Representatives has passed the Tariff Bill.

The Legislative Council has rejected a resolution in favour of compulsory military education.

CANADA.—Canada's trade for twelve months, ending July, was as follows: Total exports, £53,857,207, an increase of £1,707,091; and the imports £73,077,261, an increase of £13,974,308. The exports to Great Britain amounted to £26,590,001, and the imports to £18,575,820.

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OBITUARY.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following:

Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Tanner (operations in India 1858-59 during the Indian Mutiny);—Colonel William Vertue, I.S.C., served in Public Departments, Central Provinces;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Sharpe

(Afghan war 1878-80, South African war);—Thomas Burrows Tracy, late Bengal Civil Service;—Henry Bell Dalglish, of Tirhoot, Bengal;—Edward M. George, late M. Inst. C.E., Indian Railway;—Captain Thomas Acton, late Bengal Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, at Goojerat and Lucknow);—Professor L. F. Vernon-Harcourt, M.I.C.E., President Engineer on South-West India Dock works 1866-70, inspected River Hooghly 1896, and made a report to Calcutta Port Commissioners on the improvements of the river for the purposes of navigation;—Major-General E. L. Scott, late Bombay Staff Corps (Sind 1843, Southern Mahratta 1844-45);—Colonel Charles Allan Baylay, late Bengal Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Benjamin Kenicott Selby, retired Deputy-Commissioner in Burma;—Captain Harold Budgett Meaken, M.D. (Indian Medical Service);—Robert Muirhead Kennedy, late Commissioner of the Northern Division, Bombay Presidency;—General Sir Edward Charles Sparshott Williams, late Government Director of the Indian Railway Companies;—Major-General H. L. Bones, late Royal (Bengal) Artillery (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Major A. P. Bateman-Champain, M.V.O., of the Indian Army (Burma 1890, Chitral Relief Force 1895, North-West Frontier 1897, Tirah Expeditionary Force 1897-98);—Bohn George Bagram, Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta;—W. R. B. Brereton, late Indian Forest Department;—Captain J. A. Dredge, I.M.S., Staff Surgeon at Bangalore;—Colonel Arthur Fitzgerald, late Bengal Army (Bhootan expedition 1868, Afghan war 1879, Soudan expedition 1885);—George William Vidal, formerly Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government;—Maulvi Syed Mehdi Ali, a leader of the Indian Mohammedans, and Secretary of the Aligarh College;—Sir Charles Arthur Turner, K.C.I.E., late Chief Justice, Madras, and Member of the Council of India;—John George Smith, Chief Judge, Small Causes Court, Madras;—Deputy-Surgeon-General R. W. Carter, Army Medical Service (Crimea 1854-55, Indian Mutiny campaign 1858, Afghan war 1878-80);—Colonel C. F. W. Moir (Afghan war 1878-79);—Henry Nathaniel Elton, Surgeon-Major I.M.S. (retired);—Colonel G. B. B. Hobart, late Royal Artillery (Indian Mutiny, China war, Bechuanaland 1885);—Edward Hanson Paske, Colonel Bengal Staff Corps;—Viscount Gormanston (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands 1885-87, British Guiana 1887-93, Governor of Tasmania 1893-1900);—Major-General W. S. Trevor, V.C., Royal (late Bengal) Engineers (Burmese war 1852-53, Bhootan expedition 1865);—Major-General Apsley Cherry-Garrard (Sepoy Revolt, Lucknow, Gaika war 1878, Zulu war 1879);—Colonel B. G. Stone, R.A., formerly Ordnance Consulting Officer for India;—Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Sanwell (Central India 1857-58, Ashantee 1873);—Edward H. Clementson, late P.W.D., India;—Henry John McGeorge, late Deputy-Commissioner in the Central Provinces, India;—Major Claude Dallas Lester, 117th Mahrattas;—C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary of the East India Association, Barrister-at-Law, first practised in India, subsequently building up a practice in London in Indian Appeals to the Privy Council;—Rev. Henry Stern, C.M.G., late of Gorakhpur, Upper India;—Henry Mungo Thompson, late

Chief Secretary to Government, P.W.D., Bombay;—Colonel Augustus Marshall Phillips, Indian Army;—Ronald Elwood Pate, Lieutenant 27th Punjabis;—James Henry Bernard-White, Commissioner I.C.S.;—George Macartney Ogilvie, late I.C.S.;—Nawab Mahboob Yar Bung Nizamud Dowla Bahadur, A.D.C. to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad;—Charles Earwaker, honorary Lieutenant Royal Navy (Sebastopol 1854, Indian Mutiny 1857, River Gambia and Porto Novo, Lagos, 1861);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Dunn;—Major W. F. Fullarton (Indian Mutiny, North-West Frontier);—Colonel Edward Long Grant, C.B. (Burmese war, Indian Mutiny);—Captain Alexander Tweedale, 1st Bombay Lancers.

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THE PROPOSED ABOLITION OF THE  
INDIAN COTTON DUTIES.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

ON January 11 last a most important letter on the Indian cotton duties from the pen of Sir Henry Fowler, who was the Secretary of State for India in the Liberal Ministry of 1892-94, appeared in the *Spectator*. It is generally understood that Sir Henry Fowler and his successor, Mr. John Morley—both of whom have administered the affairs of our great Eastern dependency, in somewhat troubled times, with conspicuous moderation and success—are entirely in accord on the main points of our Indian policy, which they have lifted out of the region of partisan controversy; so that the publication of a manifesto by Sir Henry on the most important of all Indian fiscal questions has been received with quite a flutter of expectation and hope, both in Lancashire and Scotland, and also among the cotton manufacturers of India.

For Sir Henry Fowler's words seem clearly to point to the early abolition of a troublesome and vexatious impost, that for the last thirteen years has harassed and impeded the progress of the cotton industry, both in Great Britain and also—by reason of the inquisitorial action of the countervailing excise duties imposed on the products of all Indian cotton-mills—in India itself. Sir Henry's letter



quotes significantly the wording of the resolution of the House of Commons, passed at the instance of the Lancashire and Scottish members for the cotton-manufacturing districts in 1877, in regard to the similar duties that were subsequently abolished by Lord Lytton and Lord Cromer. The House resolved that those duties "are protective in their character, and ought to be repealed without delay as soon as the financial condition of India will permit." Sir Henry also refers to the strong condemnation passed on these duties by the late Lord Salisbury; and Lord George Hamilton, on December 22, 1895, declared that Lord Salisbury's opinion was that such duties are "a matter of dangerous contention, and it was only under conditions of emergency or exigency that recourse in any way ought to be had to such a policy." Sir Henry further refers to the motion censuring these duties that was moved in 1895 by Lord James of Hereford, and seconded by Lord Weardale, then Mr. P. Stanhope, and the Liberal ex-Secretary for India solemnly declares that the Indian import duties on cotton had only been imposed because of "the financial embarrassments owing mainly to the fall in the value of the rupee." And he further asserts, what is well known to be the fact, that the shamefully extortionate and inquisitorial excise duties on the products of Indian cotton-mills were imposed, under the orders of the Liberal Government, of which he was a member, not for the value of the revenue obtained from them—which is comparatively trifling—but because a Free Trade British Government could not permit the Government of India to impose import duties on Lancashire and Lanarkshire goods without a countervailing excise duty.

Now, we all know that the financial embarrassment caused by the fall in the value of the rupee is a thing of the past. In this respect, at any rate, the stoppage of the coinage of silver—in itself a measure obviously in the nature of an indirect tax on industry—has been a complete success. For some years past the Indian Finance

Minister has had an annual surplus considerably larger than the total proceeds of these customs and excise duties combined. Meanwhile, the legitimate discontent in India produced by the odious excise duties—which are nowhere levied in the self-governing Colonies—has grown into a serious source of unrest. The intense hatred of those duties which is universally felt in India was strongly expressed by the National Indian Congress, under the presidency of Sir Henry Cotton, the Liberal member for East Nottingham, with the aid of Sir William Wedderburn, formerly Liberal member for Banff, and also at one time a President of the Congress. It has been voiced, always with indignation, at hundreds of meetings in India.

Sir Henry Fowler does well, therefore, to suggest, by this letter to the *Spectator*, that the time has arrived when the pledges in regard to these duties, given by every Secretary of State that has dealt with them, and by both parties in the State, should be at once carried out by the total abolition both of the customs duties and of the excise.

Such a measure would, for the purposes of the cotton industry, make of the United Kingdom and the Empire of India one vast Free-Trade area. Let us try to imagine the immense expansion of that industry that would at once follow on the passing of such a reform, both for the Lancashire and the Scottish manufacturers, and also for the Indian mills.

At present every bale of Lancashire cotton goods that is landed in Bombay or in Calcutta is at once brought face-to-face with a custom-house barrier, an *octroi*, that violates every economical canon. Why should this be? The same bale, if landed in any Irish or British port, would go to its destination without any such tax or impediment; and yet India is under the ultimate control of the same supreme fiscal authority, the Imperial Parliament, that prescribes the fiscal regulations of Great Britain and Ireland. If the

County Council of Cheshire or of the West Riding of Yorkshire were to desire to impose a tax on the imports into their county of goods from Lancashire, we should denounce that tax as a mischievous *octroi*, and every economist in the world would deride it. Why is it less an *octroi* when the goods are taken from Lancashire to Calcutta, or from Assam to London? Free Traders used to howl—and rightly so—against the London coal and wine dues; but the interference with trade produced by those dues was as nothing when compared with the hindrance placed on the cotton industry of Lancashire and Scotland by the custom-house barriers at the Indian ports.

Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., now Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, put this point very clearly in a speech delivered in the House of Commons on August 13, 1903, when the right honourable gentleman was member for Oldham, and in that capacity represented a large number of cotton-mill operatives. He said:

"The consumers of cotton goods were very poor people, and in the Indian climate they could easily reduce their demand if the goods were expensive. The removal of the restriction on the importation of cotton would stimulate the purchasing power of the great home market in India, and that ought to be the first concern of statesmen. What a little thing this duty was to cause so much disturbance, irritation, and inconvenience to the trade! . . . Of all the items in that (Indian) tariff there was none which more urgently called for revision than the cotton duties."

It is, of course, only fair to remember that this speech was made before Mr. Churchill undertook the responsibilities of office. Still, the facts of the case in relation to the cotton industry of Oldham, of Lancashire, and of Scotland, are precisely the same now as in 1903. And the urgency of the case has been very greatly increased by the

undeniable fact that the great "Swadeshi" movement in India—fostered by Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Charles Schwann, and many other Liberal Members of Parliament, and greatly stimulated by recent events—is now shown, not only by the letters of Mr. Nevinson in the *Manchester Guardian*, but also by universal consent, to have grown into a great national enthusiasm throughout India, and especially in Bengal. It is true that, oddly enough, one of the stalwarts of this Indian enthusiasm for Protection against Lancashire, Sir Henry Cotton, is himself the Liberal Member for East Nottingham, a constituency much interested in British manufactures; while Sir Charles Schwann, and many other members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, represent constituencies that will be greatly injured by the successful boycott of Lancashire goods in India. Sir Henry Cotton has publicly given Lancashire the fullest warning as to the danger ahead. In his speech to the Oxford University India Society on November 22 last, Sir Henry frankly stated, with all the authority of an ex-President of the Congress, and a leading representative of the Congress in England, that "I have no doubt whatever that the people of India are in earnest in this movement." And he further added: "There is more in the agitation than the Manchester merchants are willing to admit." If there is any truth in this statement of Sir Henry Cotton's—and every one who knows anything about the Swadeshi agitation knows that it is absolutely true, and only too mildly expressed—surely the most ordinary prudence on the part of the "Manchester merchants," and, indeed, of all those interested in the cotton industry, should lead them, even in these times of seeming prosperity, to take some steps to avert the threatened catastrophe? Obviously, the only possible steps must be in the direction of amalgamating British and Indian industrial interests, to make them mutually supporting instead of mutually hostile. And the first step might be one that would be honestly favoured both by Free Traders and by Tariff Reformers—the abolition, now



suggested by Sir Henry Fowler, of the Indian import duties on Lancashire and Scottish cotton goods in return for the abolition of the excise duties on Indian cotton goods, and such further concessions to Indian trade interests as might be agreed on by the British and Indian exchequers.

What I have said of the attitude of Mr. Churchill towards this great reform would apply also to that of Lord Reay, Lord Portsmouth, Mr. George Whiteley, and many other Liberal politicians. I take it for granted that all Conservative politicians would gladly welcome a reform that would at last harmonize the industrial interests of India with those of Lancashire and of the United Kingdom generally. The Right Hon. George Whiteley, M.P., now the chief whip of the Liberal party, was closely identified with the opposition to the Indian cotton duties when he was the Conservative Member for Stockport. When Sir William Coddington's deputation of Lancashire and other members opposed to those duties waited on Lord George Hamilton on December 11, 1895, Mr. George Whiteley spoke strongly of the injury inflicted on the Lancashire operatives. Mr. Whiteley was at that time supported by Mr. A. Emmott, the Liberal M.P. for Oldham, Mr. Harwood, the Liberal M.P. for Bolton, and many other prominent politicians from the manufacturing districts. And it was in reply to them that the Secretary of State for India made the oft-repeated declaration that

"If a satisfactory equilibrium between income and expenditure (in India) could be established, it would be as much to the interests of India as of Lancashire that the duties should be abolished."

Now, at that time—in 1895, before the successful currency legislation of the Government of India had inaugurated a period of surpluses—it was a matter of common knowledge that there was no present hope of the "satisfactory equilibrium between income and expenditure" being obtained. So the only result of this influential deputation,



and, of the "raging and tearing" agitation that had convulsed Lancashire and Lanarkshire under the guidance of Mr. Tom Garnett, Mr. Wylie, Mr. W. Tattersall, and Mr. J. Mawdsley, was to "rob Peter to pay Paul"—to impose on the most promising "nascent industry" of India a singularly irritating and inquisitorial tax, merely to ensure that that industry should not be "protected" against Lancashire by the import duties.

How much that industry was injured by that excise can be clearly inferred from one single fact. While the excise returns show that the cotton-milling industry of India barely doubled its total output during the ten years that followed the imposition of the excise, the custom-house returns show that the imports of cotton manufactures from Germany and other protected foreign countries were actually quadrupled during the same period! Both the German cotton industry—so far as its import of cotton goods into India was concerned—and the Indian cotton industry were nascent industries at that time, and both required some small amount of protection for their establishment. The foreigners took good care to secure it for themselves by the protection of their home markets, as well as by subsidizing lines of great ocean-going steamers to take goods at lower freights. And the natural result was, what anyone possessing the smallest amount of common sense would know it must be, that the foreigner reaped a rich reward by quadrupling his imports of cotton piece-goods into India within ten years. In other lines in which British supremacy was less assured—such as hosiery, shawls, and so forth—the foreigner in this way actually succeeded in beating British goods out of the Indian market; but that is a broader question into which I do not wish to enter in this place. The point I here wish to emphasize is this, that owing to the antediluvian fiscal policy which we force on India at the point of the bayonet, the expansion of her nascent cotton industry is so greatly impeded, while the inroads of foreign protected industry are

so greatly encouraged, that while the value of the imports of cotton manufactured goods from Germany and the other Protectionist States have increased from £407,039 in 1896-97 to £1,828,332 in 1905-06, the Indian manufacture has barely doubled. And the imports from Lancashire and Scotland, though, of course, on a far larger scale (as yet, though for how long?), are barely half as much again in the latter year as they were in the former. So it comes to this, that the net results to India of our so-called Free Trade system during the ten years under notice have been that the imports of manufactured cotton goods from the protected countries of the Continent and America have expanded at a rate that is double the expansion of the production of Indian cotton-mills, and eight times the rate of expansion of the imports of those cotton goods from Lancashire and the rest of the United Kingdom! If we insist on the maintenance of this so-called Free Trade system in India, that thus protects the foreigner at the expense both of British and of Indian producers of cotton goods, it is clear that the time will come when both Lancashire and Bombay alike will be ousted from the Indian markets by the protected manufactures of the Continent and America.

It is unnecessary here to labour the point that the system is simply detested in India—practically universally. It is admitted by all that, in the words of Lord George Hamilton, quoted and confirmed by Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. John Morley, "India is intensely Protectionist." But I should like to point out that the educated classes in India, who are thus unanimously in favour of the protection of nascent industries, comprise among their number many highly trained and scholarly economists of great scientific attainments, to whom the self-satisfied and domineering tone of the average British Cobdenite must be intensely irritating. I was for many years examiner in Political Economy for the M.A. degree of the Calcutta University, and also for the Premchand Roychand student-

ships; and as I had been myself a student of the subject at Oxford in the great old days when Professor Bonamy Price occupied the Drummond chair, I can bear witness to the fact—which I think is generally admitted, certainly by all those who have mixed much with the higher classes of Indians—that the average honour-man of the Indian Universities is a keener, brighter, and more alert thinker than the average honour-man of the British Universities. This is especially the case in all branches of philosophical learning. Consequently, I have always maintained that the arrogant words in which the Indian Financial Statement of March, 1878, announced the adoption of Cobdenism for India were singularly ill-judged:

“It is not necessary now to discuss the advantages to a country of Free Trade, and the disadvantages of Protective duties. It is sufficient to say that these have been admitted for many years by the statesmen who, of whatever party, have guided the policy of the United Kingdom. They must be regarded as a part of the national policy which Great Britain has finally adopted, and which the Secretary of State for India, with the deliberate approval of the House of Commons, has required (*sic*) the Government of India in this country to carry out.”

So also, in the autumn of 1903, Lord George Hamilton, speaking at Ealing as a 'vert to Cobdenism, used even more imperious language. He said:

“India itself is intensely Protectionist, but so long as Free Trade is the policy of this Empire, we have a perfect right to say that India shall adopt that system.”

Now, it seems to me that, from the moral point of view of strict equity—which is the only point of view, I maintain, that the Imperial Parliament can take—the “perfect right,” of which Lord George Hamilton speaks, is a mutual one. The great and lucrative Indian market, secured by the

*Pax Britannica*, was established by Britain—it is guarded and maintained by India. Therefore both Britain and India, being sister States in the British Empire, have equal "rights" each to full consideration by the other. Both Britain and India have a "perfect right" to expect that, in all fiscal arrangements, the commercial and industrial interests of both shall be equally respected. And this is only possible under a system of Imperial Preference. The existing Indian system—which is pure Cobdenism in regard to cotton, owing to the agitation of Mr. William Tattersall and the Lancashire Cobdenites, and a mild and futile form of Protection in all other respects—is equally disastrous in the long-run both to Britain and to India.

Mr. Tattersall and his Cobdenite allies have always made the mistake—which, I think, I have sufficiently exposed in the above figures—of fancying that India, and not the solid phalanx of German and other protected communities, is the rival and enemy of Lancashire in the Indian market. In the *Spectator* of January 4 last, in reply to the wise and statesmanlike suggestion of Sir Charles Elliott, that as India is admittedly Protectionist, we should meet her half-way by a give-and-take system of Imperial Preference, thereby giving India some protection against the foreigner, but not against Britain, all that Mr. Tattersall has to say is:

"Just so; but while India is our Dependency she will continue to be governed by our traditional policy of Free Trade."

It is really surprising that Liberals like Mr. Tattersall should adopt this hectoring tone towards India. And in another part of the same *Spectator* letter he altogether gives away the Cobdenite case, for he writes:

"During Mr. Churchill's contest in this city (Manchester) I ventured to warn Lancashire that if the principles of the Tariff Reform League were adopted



nothing could prevent the Bombay cotton industry from being protected at the expense of our own staple trade."

Now, what does this statement, when put into frank and intelligible language, amount to? It is simply this, that, in Mr. Tattersall's opinion, so long as we force India to admit foreign protected cotton on the same terms as Lancashire cotton, and force her to tax her own products at the same unfair rate, she must "continue to be governed by our (British) traditional policy of Free Trade," and must not grumble; but that, if we consent to her freeing her own industry from this odious excise duty, at the same time freeing the Lancashire industry from the similar customs duty, the Indian Government will, for some absolutely inscrutable reason, and in some absolutely inscrutable way, proceed to protect the Bombay cotton industry at the expense of Lancashire! Why? Perhaps Mr. Tattersall may reply, "Oh, the dear good Cobdenite Government of India could never be so cruel and wicked as to impose a revenue tax on the poor dear protected foreigner unless it imposed the same tax on British goods." And all I can reply to that argument is, that it is simply Cobdenism gone mad. And that for two good reasons: *First*, every civilized Government finds it necessary to raise revenue by some taxation of foreign imports, but not even the most foolish Cobdenite has ever yet dared to maintain seriously that such taxation necessitates the establishment of an internal interprovincial *octroi*, such as are the duties between Britain and India. And *secondly*, the maintenance of the existing extremely light customs duties on German and other protected cotton goods, when both British and Indian cotton goods are freed from the countervailing *octroi* and excise duties, would do no more than neutralize the existing unfair preference conferred on those protected foreign goods. It is difficult to understand how any intelligent being can profess to believe that India, being intensely Protectionist, and being at present forcibly prevented from obtaining any protection whatever for her



nascent industries, is more contented with the present unjust arrangement than she would be with an arrangement which would afford her some protection against the foreigner, while still maintaining the same level of equality with the British industry.

Of the existing arrangement, the Hon. Sir Phirozshah Mehta observed, in the debate in Council under the presidency of Lord Elgin, on the Bill imposing the excise duties on December 27, 1894, with regard to "the principle and policy which seem to me to underlie the provisions of this Bill," that

"That principle and that policy are, that the infant industries of India should be strangled in their birth if there is the remotest suspicion of their competing with English manufactures."

Every Indian and every unofficial member voted against the Bill. And these dissentients comprised such representative men as the late Maharaja of Darbhanga, Sir Patrick Playfair, Sir Griffith Evans, Sir Phirozshah Mehta, the Hon. Mohini Mohan Roy, the Hon. Prince Sir Jahan Kadir, the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis, the Hon. Baba Khem Singh Bedi, and the Hon. Fazulbhai Vishram. Sir Richard Garth, at that time Chief Justice of Bengal, said of the measure: "We all know that it was pressure put upon England by the Lancashire cotton-spinners, although the pretext assigned for it was the plausible one of Free Trade." Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., afterwards Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, though an official member of the Council, refused to vote for the Bill, and in a subsequent speech in Council, on February 3, 1896, declared that "the competition which is really injuring Lancashire is that of the Continent rather than that of India." And in the latter debate, so keen was the irritation among the Indian members on account of the supposed pressure from Lancashire that when the Hon. Ananda Charlu, addressing the Finance Minister, spoke of his "clamorous compatriots

of Lancashire," Sir James Westland interjected the remark: "Please do not put me down as a compatriot of Lancashire; I am not even an Englishman."

Surely the political mischief of these results of our Cobdenite policy in India is too obvious to need further elaboration?

But anyhow, Sir Henry Fowler's suggestion offers a means whereby, without any far-reaching change in the Indian fiscal system, a better way might be taken in regard to the section which is by far the most important one, both of our British-Indian trade and of our Indian "infant industries," the supply of cotton goods to the 300,000,000 consumers of India. The British cotton-mills and the Indian cotton-mills between them are easily capable of supplying all the needs of these vast populations, and their natural advantages would easily enable them to do so but for the deflection of trade from its natural channels by the up-to-date fiscal policy of Germany and the other protected commercial nations.

All that is needed is that the Indian Government should be permitted to abolish both the customs duties on British cotton goods and the excise duties on Indian cotton goods, while, to equalize the transaction as between Britain and India, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer should make a substantial reduction on the present exorbitant British duties imposed on Indian tea, sugar, and tobacco. Such a favourable opportunity for this great reform, both on the British side and on the Indian, may perhaps never again occur.

On the one hand, the Indian revenues have shown such marvellous elasticity under the stimulus of the recent currency and exchange legislation that the Indian Finance Minister is literally running about to find the most suitable objects to which he may devote his surpluses. He talks quite lightly about sacrificing the whole of the 5½ millions sterling of the opium revenue for the sake of the *beaux yeux* of Mr. Lupton, M.P., Sir Henry Cotton, M.P., and

the other lights of the Anti-Opium-Traffic Society—although Mr. John Morley last year, with that awkward old-fashioned honesty of his, which is so dreadfully inconvenient to the modern Liberalism, pointed out to Mr. Lupton that such a sacrifice might be held to be satisfying our British righteousness at the cost of the Indian revenue! Only within the last year or two the Government of India has been able to make the most notable reduction in various branches of taxation, while retaining these cotton duties, though absolutely pledged (in such circumstances) to their abolition.

On the other hand, no "mandate" of the General Election of 1906 was clearer than the one, accepted by both parties in British politics, insisting on the reduction or abolition of the taxation on tea, sugar, and tobacco, which presses so heavily on the poorest classes of British consumers. If only Mr. William Tattersall and his friends in Lancashire and Lanarkshire were half as "clamorous" (to use Mr. Ananda Charlu's apt word) in their demands on the present Government as they were on the late Conservative Government for the abolition of these mischievous cotton duties—if only Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Whiteley brought forward the same eloquent arguments now, in these favourable circumstances, that they employed in the House of Commons in August, 1903, it would be impossible for Mr. Asquith and Mr. John Morley to resist their righteous demands. And now that the veteran Indian Secretary on their own side has given them such a clear lead as Sir Henry Fowler has done in his *Spectator* letter, every one who desires to see the ties of love and friendship between Britain and India drawn closer will hope that both agitators and M.R.'s will cease to be "dumb dogs" merely because a Liberal Government is in power. Rather they should, for that very reason—as is shown by Sir Henry's letter—insist on it that the Liberal Government should fulfil those promises to which their predecessors and their constituents have pledged them.

## TARIFF REFORM AND INDIAN CURRENCY REFORM: AN ANALOGY.

By F. J. KINGSLEY.

WHEN one recalls the discussion which preceded the closing of the Indian Mints to the coinage of silver in 1893, the resemblance between the arguments then used by the opponents of that measure, and the arguments which are now put forward by free importers to whom Tariff Reform is anathema, appears to be very striking. In that discussion, as in the present one, the objectors to any new departure from a policy which had been pursued for a long period of years, under which industries had flourished, many firms had conducted a profitable business, and many individuals had realized fortunes, were vehement in their adjurations to "let well alone." They predicted that all sorts of misfortunes would follow if the currency, which had hitherto rested on the free coinage of silver, were tampered with in any way. They quoted authorities on political economy to show that the only sound currency for any country was one in which the "natural value" of the metal used was strictly maintained. They strongly deprecated any interference with the "immutable laws" of supply and demand. To such persons obsessed with the idea that a system which had worked fairly well so far as they themselves were concerned, and under which they still believed that they could amass wealth, it was useless to point out that the instability of the rupee, and especially its constant shrinkage in value in relation to gold, rendered it wholly unsuitable as an instrument of exchange in business transactions, and formed a constant source of embarrassment in the administration of the country. The Government of India, hard put to it to make both ends meet, and face to face with ever increasing deficits, which, unless some remedy could be found, must inevitably mean fresh taxation, had come to



the conclusion that something must be done, and that, as desperate diseases need desperate remedies, a drastic reform in the currency system of the country was imperatively necessary. They had several plans and proposals for dealing with the difficulty put before them, each of which was very carefully discussed and considered before they finally decided to close the Mints to the free coinage of silver. But none of the people who were so strenuously opposed to reform of any kind had any suggestions to offer by way of helping the Government out of their difficulties. In this respect they bore a strong family likeness to the tribe of Free Traders, Free Importers, and Free Fooders of the present day, who offer no solution of the fiscal problems that present themselves with ever-increasing urgency to our statesmen, but are wholly content with a system under which they have managed to get along comfortably enough, and persist in pinning their faith on the "immutable" laws and the "incontestable" dogmas that hold sway economically in the best of all possible worlds.

To estimate correctly the points in respect of which a comparison of this kind may be made, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the position of the Government of India in relation to the currency at the time when it was decided to put a stop to the free coinage of silver. At this period—viz., in 1893—a very serious decline had taken place in the exchange value of the rupee, which was at once the current coin of the country, and the standard of value for both its home and its foreign trade. This fall had commenced in the year 1873-74, when the value of the rupee measured in sterling stood at something slightly over 1s. 10d. Since that date the course of the exchange value of the rupee had been steadily downwards, with the exception of a check in the year 1890, when there was a partial rise, which, however, was not long sustained. In 1891-92 the value had fallen to an average, roughly, of 1s. 4½d. In 1892-93 it was less than 1s. 3d., while at the time when the seriousness of the situation had forced itself upon the attention of the



Government the rupee was barely maintained, by such limited expedients as were possible, at anything above 1s. 2½d.

There is no doubt that the great reform in the currency system of India, which dates from the closing of the Mints in 1893, was almost entirely due to the desire of the Government to escape from a position which had become wellnigh intolerable. Year by year they had to meet large sterling obligations of a more or less fixed character by payments out of a revenue raised in silver money, which, in relation to gold, was constantly shrinking in value. And for this reason, though the actual finances of India were in a flourishing condition showing generally a satisfactory surplus at the end of the year, the whole effect of this increasing prosperity, coupled with successful fiscal administration, was rendered abortive by the perversity of the rupee. Thus, in one particular year a surplus of Rs. 14,66,000 was converted into a deficit of Rs. 1,08,10,000 simply because the rate of exchange had dropped several points in the interval between the time when the estimates for the year's expenditure were made and the time when the actual payments had to take place. The situation was summed up by Sir David Barbour as follows: "The immediate cause of our financial difficulties, and the cause which by comparison and for the time being dwarfs all others, is the fall in the gold value of silver, which . . . has added to the Indian expenditure in two years more than four crores of rupees."

Nor was this all. Serious and persistent as had been the process of "cheapening," which, for various reasons, the Indian currency had undergone during a period of some twenty years, the Government of India, which, as the largest consumer of silver in the country, was the party most directly concerned, was threatened by the possibility of a sudden drop in the value of the rupee which might easily eclipse all others, and might, indeed, bring them to the verge of bankruptcy; for owing to the operation of the Bland Act

(1878), and, later, the Sherman Act (1890), the United States of America had been maintaining the price of silver far beyond its market value—actually, in fact, absorbing from 34 to 42 per cent. of the estimated production of the world. What effect a repeal of the Sherman Act would have on the supply and consequently the value of silver it was, of course, impossible to foresee; but the Government of India were alive to the fact that a strong agitation existed in America for such a step to be taken, and that the catastrophe—for such it would be to them—might occur at any moment.

What was, then, the position? Silver is, of course, a commodity like anything else that is bought and sold. India, with its silver currency, vast population, and great trade was the most important consumer of this commodity, and had been getting it in ever larger quantities and lower prices for a long period of years. And just as nowadays there are many persons who believe that the cheap food and the ever diminishing prices which are held to follow free imports are advantages that far outweigh all other considerations, so there were in India a large number who held that a "cheap" silver currency, and even a falling rate of exchange—both of them due to the free importation and unrestricted coinage of silver—were beneficial in their effect upon the trade of the country.

Fortunately for them, the Government of India were not tied down by election pledges and hampered by inconvenient "mandates." They could bring to the consideration of the serious problem they had to face an open mind, and, what was more important, they had, practically, a free hand in dealing with their difficulties. Once having won over to their side the bulk of the commercial community, their course was clear, and it was a comparatively simple matter to carry into effect that great measure of Currency Reform which dates from the closing of the Mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893.

It may be noted that the support of the commercial

community which the Government of India enjoyed was by no means unanimous or whole-hearted. There were many strenuous objectors, passive resisters, and unwilling converts. The party of Reform had its Chamberlain in Sir James Mackay, who at that time held a leading position in commercial circles, and it was mainly due to his energy and enthusiasm that the forces of public opinion were marshalled on the side of the Government. Nor, like his great prototype, was he without his detractors—unfriendly critics who accused him, unjustly no doubt, of interested motives. Having regard to this fact, and in the light of what has since happened, the reference of Sir James Mackay to the Indian currency question in his speech at the recent Imperial Conference is specially interesting.

“Under the existing fiscal system India enjoys a highly advantageous position. Since the establishment of the gold standard in India, securing a stable rate of exchange, a measure initiated by Lord Lansdowne’s Government in 1893, and brought to fruition by you, my lord, during your term of office as Viceroy, the finances of India have been in a satisfactory condition. The trade and commerce of the country have been prosperous and flourishing, and have been fully equal to the strain of providing the means of remitting the large amount annually required to discharge both her public and private sterling obligations. There is no sign that this prosperity is insecure, nor is any important trade or industry seriously menaced by the restrictive tariffs of foreign countries.”

This striking testimony of Sir James Mackay to the flourishing condition of Indian commerce, since it is quite recent and applies to an extended period, has even greater value than that of Lord Northbrook, who, in his evidence before the Commission in 1898, said with reference to the closing of the Mints: “I myself do not believe that the measure has seriously interfered with public or private interests in India.”

Few persons, even among those who profess and

call themselves Free Traders, will be found to dispute this assertion that the policy of Indian Currency Reform adopted by the Government in 1893 has been an unqualified success. Fourteen years' experience of closed mints, restricted coinage, controlled rupee prices, and a currency established in open defiance of orthodox economic doctrines and "immutable laws," has demonstrated that a policy which, to use Lord Goschen's words, was regarded as a "makeshift and a temporary solution of a very great difficulty," and by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, as "only an experiment," has proved a lasting and permanent benefit to India and to its commerce.

Such being the facts, it may be of interest to compare the objections which were urged against the drastic and far-reaching measure of Currency Reform in 1893 with those that are put forward to-day by opponents of the comparatively mild measures of Tariff Reform that are rapidly becoming the one great political question on which the nation will shortly have to make up its mind for better or worse. As the position taken up by the advocates of "free silver" bears a sort of family resemblance to that of the votaries of "Free Trade," so there is a distinct analogy traceable in the arguments put forward by the former to those with which the present controversy has made us familiar. In the Report of the Indian Currency Committee, which sat in 1898, the objections were summarized by one of the witnesses under no less than thirteen separate heads—an unlucky number in this instance, certainly, since all of them were overruled or proved to be baseless. Perhaps if these objections are compared, one by one, with the principal arguments of a like nature put forward by opponents of Tariff Reform, it will not only be possible to establish an analogy in each instance, but to suggest the lines on which arguments of the kind may be satisfactorily met. At any rate, such a comparison cannot fail to furnish food for reflection both to Free Traders and Tariff Reformers.



The first objection—which may be termed that of “Impracticability”—put forward was “That the mass of silver currency in India was too large to admit of the rupee becoming a mere token, and that it would continue to follow in exchange the price of silver.” In other words, the contention was that the distinction between silver as a raw material and silver as a manufactured article for currency purposes (viz., rupees) could not be established and maintained. This bears a strong resemblance to the argument of Mr. Harold Cox, elaborated by him in a letter to the *Morning Post* in May last, the gist of which lies in the sentence: “I contend that it is absolutely impossible to draw a distinction between raw materials and manufactured articles.” And again, in the *Financial Review of Reviews* of January last, he refers to “the impossibility of exempting raw materials from Protective taxation.” It is unnecessary to deal with Mr. Cox’s argument here, especially as this was done effectually at the time of his letter by the *Morning Post*; but it is interesting to note how the analogous argument regarding silver was disposed of by actual fact. In his evidence before the Indian Currency Commission, Sir James Mackay, after admitting that the objection above referred to had seemed to him “well founded,” that he himself had “had his doubts about it,” and that it was “a very serious question,” and one to be solved “only by experience,” proceeded to state that in the light of the experience then available—i.e., between July, 1893, and December, 1897: “It has been fairly well demonstrated that it is possible to have the rupee circulating at a higher level than its intrinsic value”; and again, in reply to a question of Sir David Barbour: “I should say that it is absolutely certain”—i.e., that “the rupee can be kept at a different value from that which you call its intrinsic value.” Now, Sir James Mackay is an authority whose name should carry weight with Mr. Cox and other Cobdenites, and *mutatis mutandis* it does not seem to require a great stretch of the imagination to suggest the possibility of a



reply couched in very similar terms by him, or by some other equally reliable authority, to the question, "Is it perfectly certain that a distinction can now be maintained between raw materials and manufactured articles?" propounded at a Committee of Enquiry into the results of, say, five years' experience of Tariff Reform. No doubt the reply would be very similar to that which might be, even at the present moment, obtained from a competent person in any of the numerous countries that have had experience in drawing such distinctions under a protective system.

The next objection put forward by the advocates of "free silver" was that based on political considerations, and was thus formulated: "That the closing of the Indian Mints would lower the price of silver, and that the natives of India, who are large possessors of silver in the shape of ornaments, would suffer thereby, and also by not being permitted to coin their silver into rupees when they desired to do so, political trouble would arise." In this case the analogy is so close as to admit of a paraphrase which very aptly expresses a very favourite argument of Free Importers to-day. The paraphrase would run as follows: "That Tariff Reform would lower the purchasing power of silver—i.e., by increasing the price of bread, etc.—and that the people of England, who mainly use silver and live largely on bread, would suffer thereby; and also by their not being permitted to buy articles of foreign production duty-free, political trouble would arise." Is there not the same specious blending of sentiment with expediency in the Free Silver argument that is so characteristic of the contentions most frequently put forward on behalf of what is called "Free Trade"? The sentimental side of the argument has, perhaps, been most consistently exploited, as it has been most eloquently expressed, by Mr. Lloyd George, who, at the Imperial Conference, after pointing out that we have "multitudes of poor people who, from the cradle to the grave, are never out of sight or hearing distance of the wolves of hunger," made the following touching appeal to

the Colonial Premiers: "We beseech you, then, not to lend countenance to any schemes which, however much they might profit you, would have the effect of increasing by one grain of sand the weight of unendurable poverty now borne by many sons and daughters of this affluent country."

As, perhaps, might be expected, the chief exponent of the "political expediency" idea was Mr. Winston Churchill, who in the proud position of "having for one and a half years been responsible for the statements on behalf of my department," proceeded to lecture the Colonial Premiers on the working of the political machine, and to point out what the political effect of Tariff Reform (as he understood it) would be—viz.: "These food taxes by which you seek to bind the Empire together—these curious links of Empire which you are asking us to forge laboriously now . . . upon them would descend the whole weight and burden of popular anger in time of suffering." In other words, there would be political trouble. Worse than that, there would be "Parliamentary difficulty" for Mr. Churchill and his friends. And, worst of all, an "anti-colonial sentiment" would arise which would "breed steadily year by year, and accumulate at the end of a decade a deep feeling of sullen hatred of the Colonies and of colonial affairs among those poorer people of the country to whom Mr. Lloyd George so eloquently referred." A portentous anticipation truly!

But how have the gloomy anticipations of the Free Silverites, to which the vaticinations of Mr. Winston Churchill and the deprecatory pleadings of Mr. Lloyd George bear such a close resemblance, been realized? In his evidence before the Commission Sir James Mackay disposed of the "silver ornament" part of the objection by stating his opinion that "practically no feeling has been aroused on the part of the natives of India, who are possessors of silver in the shape of ornaments, because of the closing of the Mints"; while as regards the other

part of the objection his reply was equally explicit: "The anticipation was that political trouble would arise . . . and, so far as I have any evidence, no trouble has arisen whatever." And more especially Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill would do well to study the evidence in this connexion of a man whom, presumably, they regard as a high authority in political matters—viz., Sir Antony MacDonnel, who, in reply to a Free Silverite member of the Committee, said: "I consider that the political danger of having to raise extra taxation by novel methods in India entirely preponderates over the views which you advocate"—a sentence pregnant with meaning when it is realized that Sir Antony MacDonnel was, at the time, actually supporting the introduction of "a novel method" of meeting the revenue requirements—viz., closing the Mints to the free coinage of silver, and one which is very closely allied to the method of raising revenue advocated by Tariff Reformers.

Another objection put forward was based on the supposition that the export trade of India, said to be "favoured by a low or declining exchange," would be adversely affected. This was the view of Sir Frank Forbes Adam, Mr. Donald Graham, and other representatives of the Manchester school, which apparently was just as much opposed to the scheme of Currency Reform adopted by the Government of India as it is notoriously hostile to any scheme of Fiscal Reform that is now before the country. The picture of the flourishing condition of Indian trade drawn by Sir James Mackay, which has been already quoted, would alone sufficiently dispose of this idea; and, moreover, in the India Office Memorandum, which was put in at the time of his speech at the Colonial Conference, it was expressly stated that "the growth of the Indian export trade has been very satisfactory of recent years." It is, therefore, unnecessary to refer to the statistics with which the report bristles, and which entirely refute the views of the Manchester school. But what is interesting to note is that these views are

almost identical in kind with those that are held by the opponents of Fiscal Reform—*i.e.*, that our export trade would suffer if import duties are imposed. At the Colonial Conference Mr. Lloyd George expressed his firm conviction "that a tax on raw material would fetter us in the severe conflict we are waging with the most skilful trade competitors with whom any nation has ever yet been confronted."

Of course, Mr. Lloyd George, by a "tax on raw materials," means "a duty on imports," for he must know perfectly well that no such "tax" is proposed; but, later on, he develops his argument more fully: "The mere fact that we are able to trade freely with the whole world and open our markets to them makes them buy from us." This he calls "the great Free Trade argument." No doubt it is. It is the argument dear to the Manchester school, and the one on which they mainly rely. But is it not possible that they may be wrong, and that the predictions they now make as to the fatal effect that Tariff Reform would have on the export trade of Great Britain are not every whit as unfounded and as imaginary as those which were so confidently made by the opponents of Currency Reform on the ground that the export trade of India would be seriously injured?

Then came the objection that the carrying trade of the country would be injured, and that "the revenue from railways and canals would greatly decrease." That this prediction had not been realized was conclusively proved by the table of figures put in by Sir James Mackay, from which it appeared that the receipts from both railways and from irrigation works had not been appreciably affected, and showed a satisfactory increase. This being the case, it is curious that a considerable portion of Sir James Mackay's speech at the Colonial Conference should have been devoted to proving that the sea-borne trade of India would be injuriously affected if "a Preferential policy were adopted." As the ship-owner who is, perhaps, more largely



interested than any other in the carrying trade of India, he is no doubt extremely sensitive to any change of policy which might affect that trade, admittedly flourishing under present conditions. Mr. Runciman, in his speech in December last at the Liverpool Junior Reform Club, referred to the shipping trade as "the most nervous, because it is the most easily hit." But one does not look for the nervousness of Mr. Runciman in a man who has had the enlightening experiences of Sir James Mackay; and in the case of the latter, it certainly seems strange that the misgivings which he entertains regarding Preference may not occur to him to be possibly just as groundless as were the misgivings which he confessed he once entertained as to the practicability of carrying out Currency Reform—"which could only be solved by experience"—and the adverse effect upon the shipping interest which he now dreads, to be in all probability as visionary as that which was foreshadowed by pessimists in connexion with the internal carrying trade of India.

The utter groundlessness of the prediction that "the balance of trade would go against India if the rupee were prevented from falling with silver" was demonstrated by a table of figures prepared and handed in by Sir James Mackay with the comment: "Those figures do not show that the balance of trade has gone against India." The analogy here, of course, is plain enough, for a great part of Mr. Lloyd George's speech at the Colonial Conference on the subject of Preference was taken up with an elaborate attempt to show that the balance of trade under our system of free imports was just as favourable to this country—indeed, more so, since he had to admit, when brought to book, that at least one of his phrases was "exaggerated in form"—as the Manchester merchants sought to show was the case under the system of free silver in respect of the trade in India. It surely does not require a great stretch of the imagination to picture Sir James Mackay, or some equally eminent expert in trade statistics, when giving



evidence before a Commission of Enquiry into the actual working of Tariff Reform, and in reply to the question, "Has the balance of trade gone against England?" producing a table of incontrovertible figures, answering laconically, in the words that he used before the Indian Currency Commission, "Those figures do not show that the balance of trade has gone against us."

The argument that "if the rupee were maintained in exchange above the price of silver, illicit coining would become rife," of course has its counterpart in the objection to Tariff Reform on the ground that it would prove an incentive to smuggling. Naturally, we do not hear much of this argument from the Free Importers, who are painfully conscious of the fact that a good many of our imports are by no means free, having, unfortunately, to be somewhat heavily taxed "for revenue purposes only." Hence a system of customs supervision and coastguard protection has to be maintained which would, no doubt, be capable of dealing with any possible attempt to establish a contraband trade. But it is worth while to note that this forecast of mischief and trouble in currency matters was shown to be as illusory as all the rest, under the test of actual experience. Not one of the witnesses who gave evidence before the Commission was able to show that illicit coining had resulted to any appreciable extent from the closing of the Mints, and one important witness declared emphatically "there is no evidence whatever that false coining has increased in India, and there has not been one authentic case produced of a rupee having been coined, other than by the Government Mints, of the same weight and fineness as a genuine coin."

To the suggestion that "a vague feeling of discontent would be created" by the closing of the Mints and consequent enhancement of the rupee, the reply in the light of experience was equally clear—no such feeling among the people had been observable. On the contrary, Sir Antony MacDonnell held that this particular method of raising

additional revenue had one great advantage—viz., “that this effect” (*i.e.*, of indirect taxation) “is produced unconsciously; the people are conscious of no additional burden”—a point which should serve as a valuable illustration of what may be done by broadening the basis of taxation on judicious lines. The “vague feeling of discontent” which the Free Importers allege would be created by the adoption of Tariff Reform was voiced with such force and insistence by Mr. Winston Churchill at the Colonial Preference Debate that the wonder is that his speech has not, apparently, been printed and issued for world-wide circulation by the Free Trade Union or the Cobden Club. Possibly his allusion to the “deep feeling of sullen hatred to the Colonies” that would be engendered, and his fanciful picture of a situation in which “you will have exposed the fabric of the British Empire to a wrench and a shock which it has never before received” were a trifle too strong even for the taste of those who can relish and enjoy Free Food fantasies.

Unquestionably one of the most grave and serious objections advanced by the opponents of Currency Reform was that which was summarized thus: “It would give the Government the power of coinage instead of letting coinage be automatically adjusted, and the Government might manipulate the currency for its own purposes.” The analogy here is tolerably close to that kind of criticism of Tariff Reform which cries, “For Heaven’s sake keep our trade free from Government interference, lest tariffs should be manipulated to promote private interests!” This was one of Mr. Winston Churchill’s chief points in his diatribe at the Cobden Club dinner last July, and naturally we find the late secretary of that institution, Mr. Harold Cox, dancing to the same tune. “Unhampered by customs or excise regulations, the British manufacturer has only to think of how he can most economically produce the articles which his customers will probably require. Living in a Free Trade country, he can buy all the materials and

accessories of his industry at bed-rock prices." It is no wonder, therefore, that "Free Traders insist that trade should be left to business men whose living depends on their business." This exposition of the whole duty of the manufacturer, taken from the article in the *Financial Review of Reviews* already quoted, furnishes quite a happy example of the attitude of mind that, whether in matters of currency or of tariffs, holds up its hands in horror at the idea of Government interference or control of any kind, whatever the question of national well-being that may be involved. But the point to note is that this objection to Currency Reform failed, just as the kindred objection to Tariff Reform must fail, and for the same reason—viz., that the Government of the country is carried on by honest men, who, if they do not always know their business, at least are not likely to betray their trust. The fearful picture drawn by Mr. Runciman at Liverpool of "tariffs manipulated by great corporations for their own financial purposes" is not one that can apply to this country, and if the Financial Secretary to the Treasury requires any enlightenment on this point, let him study Sir James Mackay's vindication of the character of the Government of India in respect of a precisely similar charge. Even his explanation of the objection put forward by the advocates of Free Silver is illuminating. "In regard to that objection, I think there must have been some misunderstanding as to the scope and nature of the measure. . . . They (the Government) cannot, without being guilty of an act of dishonesty, coin rupees, with the object, say, of paying their debts." Substitute the words "manipulate tariffs with the object, say, of favouring vested interests" for the latter part of the last sentence, and there is at once one of those remarkably apt refutations of the current objections to Tariff Reform, of which, *mutatis mutandis*, the evidence given at the Currency Commission—and that of Sir James Mackay in particular—affords such a rich mine.

The remaining objections, five in number, which were

put forward by the advocates of Free Silver, all partake of the same character, relating as they do the supposed damage that would be done to the internal trade of the country, and the imaginary injury that would be inflicted upon certain manufacturing interests, such as those of cotton and tea. That these fears were not realized to any appreciable extent is evident, not only from the evidence taken by the Committee of Inquiry, but from the graphic picture of the flourishing condition of India generally painted by Sir James Mackay in his speech at the Colonial Conference already referred to. And, regarding the cotton manufacturing industry, it is worthy of note that in his evidence to the Committee of Inquiry he backed up his opinion that the industry in question, so far from being "ruined," had been "increased," by producing the usual tables of figures which he seemed always to have at command, showing that production as well as profits had been well maintained in spite of the closing of the Mints. In the same conclusive manner he dealt with other industries, such as rice-growing, cotton-growing, coal-mining, jute manufacture, and the tea industry, proving, beyond all doubt, that not one of these great industries had been injured, much less ruined, as the pessimists predicted would be the case. Last, but not least, he produced statistics of the carrying trade of India, showing an increase of something like Rs. 10,00,00,000 in the years under review—*i.e.*, the years which would show unmistakably, in respect of these returns, the effect of any serious blow to the prosperity and development of the trade of India.

The analogy in this particular case is, perhaps, the most striking of all. For no argument is put forward more persistently, nor urged more vehemently, than that Tariff Reform spells disaster to the cotton trade of Lancashire. Professor Chapman, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Manchester, has written an elaborate "Reply" to the Report of the Tariff Commission on the Cotton Industry, in which he sets forth under thirty-seven different



heads—nearly three times the number of the objections that were formulated against closing the Mints—the objections entertained by the Manchester cotton-spinners to any sort of modification of the terms on which they are now able to do business. He concludes his argument with a sentence that suggests rather the attitude of a politician of the type of Mr. Winston Churchill than that of the purely professorial, not to say scientific, mind—viz.: “The magnitude of the interests involved in Lancashire is enormous; the shock of a great change cannot be contemplated without the deepest dismay.” Naturally, also, this is the burden of the song that is sung “to one great harp in divers tones” by Mr. Harold Cox—viz., do nothing, touch nothing, tax nothing that can ever in the slightest degree impair or imperil the interests of “the greatest of our manufacturing industries,” among which interests, apparently, the power to purchase “farina, sago, flour, oil, tallow, and leather” at cut prices is an important one (*vide* article in *Financial Review of Reviews*). That Mr. Cox’s worship of cotton is not shared by all his compatriots may be gathered from the following cutting from a recent number of that remarkable Socialist organ, the *Clarion*, in which the writer, after a description of the people who “live on cotton, dress in cotton, breathe cotton, think cotton, and to whom cotton bounds the earth and constitutes the fullness thereof,” goes on to ask: “When will the operatives realize that the cotton trade has never brought a single blessing to the workers, that it has slain more human beings and desolated more homes and destroyed more happiness than all the wars of ten centuries?” So much for the point of view! Possibly neither the Cobdenite nor the Socialist estimate of the cotton trade is the correct one. But however that may be, the reply of Sir Antony MacDonnell to a question put to him touching the relations between private trade interests and matters of national importance may be commended to both parties for study and for reflection. The question and the answer, which related to what is probably



the greatest of India's manufacturing industries—viz., that of tea—were as follows: "Suppose you had invested a certain amount of your own money in one or two of these tea estates, and by the arbitrary action of the Government of India your profits were materially reduced, would not you think that a hardship?" To which Sir Antony replied: "If I were the individual I might think it a hardship, but if I were in a position in which I had to balance against these special interests the question of maintaining the Empire, I would say that the smaller interests ought to give way. The very existence of these industries depends on the goodwill and the contentment of the people of India." A fair answer this, and one worthy of a great administrator. Can anyone doubt what his answer would be if a similar question were put to him by, say, Mr. Harold Cox, on behalf of "the greatest of our manufacturing industries"?

A great deal more might be made of this attempted comparison between the conditions under which Currency Reform was opposed in India fourteen years ago and those under which Tariff Reform is opposed to-day. The analogy between the two cases, like most other analogies, does not run precisely upon all fours. But that there is a striking resemblance between the two positions few whose minds are free from bias or from political prejudice would be found to deny. Even some of the ardent advocates of free imports to-day who happened to give evidence before the Committee of Inquiry in 1898 would probably be astonished, on referring to the opinions they then expressed, to find how closely those opinions touch the question of the hour, for it should be borne in mind that, in closing the Mints to the free coinage of silver, the Government of India were doing something very similar to that which Tariff Reformers are convinced should be done in relation to our foreign trade. In effect they established a moderate protection of the currency of the country. Utterly disregarding the contention that cheapness is everything, that the immutable

laws of supply and demand can brook no interference, and that trade interests are best served by the policy of *laissez faire*, they took their courage in their hands, and they established the currency of India on a firm and stable basis. That one day not far distant we may have a Government in England as strong, as courageous, and as far-seeing as were the statesmen who controlled the destinies of India in 1893, should be the prayer of all true Tariff Reformers.

## THE PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA.\*

BY N. G. WELINKAR, M.A., LL.B.

THE extreme vagueness of the title of this paper makes it necessary to clearly define its scope and purpose at the very beginning. It is not intended to examine the political or administrative aspects of the system of higher education which has now been in operation in India for more than half a century. Such a task is obviously beyond the possibilities of a paper within the limits of the space at my disposal. I merely desire to invite my readers to consider the results of liberal education in India from a particular and somewhat specialized standpoint, which I consider to be a very important standpoint, though it is only one among others.

The objects of liberal education are wide and various, but their range is enormously widened under the peculiar conditions of a liberal education in India on Western lines. To impart to the ablest youth in the country the best knowledge of the time, to develop the highest attainable type of character and intellect, to make provision for the conservation and extension of existing knowledge—these are the functions of a proper system of liberal education in every country; but in India over and above these a system of liberal education has to subserve another peculiar function of fundamental importance. That function may be characterized as the ministry of reconciliation between the East and the West. I cannot be wrong in thinking that the ultimate aim of England's policy in regard to the higher education of Indians is to train the best minds in India to understand England—to learn its history, its literature, the science which has given it its power and its wealth, and, what is of still greater importance, the spiritual ideas which under-

\* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

lie and hold together its national life. And having learnt these things, England expects that the favoured recipients of this knowledge will take their position as connecting-links between their countrymen and themselves, interpreting to the masses of their countrymen, who are necessarily deprived of the advantages which have been placed within their reach, the aim and spirit of British rule, spreading the knowledge they have themselves been helped to gain, and thus helping England to govern a foreign race so as to secure the contentment and progress of the millions committed to her care. Surely this is a fair and legitimate expectation from those who have received a liberal education, and I am one of those who hold that it is right and necessary to apply this test in judging of the success or failure of liberal education in India. I do not maintain that this is the sole and sufficient test by which to decide on the merits or demerits of the Indian system of liberal education; but I think no thoughtful man who reflects dispassionately on the educational question in India will seriously deny not only the extreme desirability, but even the necessity, of applying such a test to the results of liberal education in determining its value and utility.

Our inquiry as so defined resolves itself into two questions: (1) How far do the recipients of our liberal education, the products of the Indian Universities, assimilate Western culture? how far, in other words, do they intelligently apprehend and appreciate the aims and methods of Western civilization? Have they been enabled, by the education they have been put through, to form an intelligent and reasonably complete conception of the means by which, and of the ends for which, England governs India? (2) How far do our educated classes serve as connecting-links between the rulers and the ruled? How far do they understand and interpret to the British Government the wishes and needs of the people, and how far do they convey to the people helpful knowledge about the work and intentions of the Government, and thus

facilitate and promote the ends of good administration? How far do they help to bridge the gulf between the East and the West, and perform or discharge that ministry of reconciliation between two peoples to which I have alluded before?

Now, I think that it will be admitted that there is a feeling, not confined to any one school of political thought in India, but a general and widespread feeling, that things are not as they should be in relation to the matters suggested by these inquiries. I am too much in contact with my educated countrymen not to know that there is a section among them who strongly claim that the answer to the questions I have raised is highly satisfactory; that the educated classes have a thorough understanding and grasp of Western modes of thought and Western methods of action, and that they are reliable exponents of the wishes and needs of the populations of India. With such I do not hold; their estimate, in my judgment, is unduly favourable, and does not appear to me to be warranted by the facts. On the other hand, I do not agree with those who go to the opposite extreme, and denounce higher education in India as a dismal failure, and its recipients as miserable charlatans, self-deluded, and deluding others in their perverse ignorance. To some jaundiced eyes the Indian graduate is a kind of Frankenstein—a monstrous product of an impossible system of education, clever at criticism, but of no use whatever for constructive work of any kind. From this view I most emphatically dissent; and the sooner it is abandoned by those who write books on India, and profess to instruct English people about the people of India, the better it will be for a good understanding between the two peoples, and for the orderly evolution of Indian politics. How, then, does the case really stand? I think that, in order to get a correct view of the case, we must broadly distinguish two periods in the history of liberal education in India, each covering about twenty-five years. Let me attempt a brief, but sharp, characterization of each. The first period was the springtime of hope. It was marked by ardent en-



thusiasm in educational work. England then sent to India a succession of great educationists, who with wide scholarship combined a glowing love for India and its people and a whole-hearted devotion to their best interests. These men did not take a merely official view of their position. They considered themselves as set apart for the service of India, and, considering education as the noblest form of that service, they consecrated themselves, as it were, to educational work. They were missionaries in the best sense of that term. The number of young men who sought higher education during this period was small; but they were most of them young men of high aspiration and conspicuous ability. These were the days of pioneer professors and pioneer students of Western learning, and, like all true pioneers, these men were full of zeal and resolution. It is not necessary to mention names, nor easy to do so amid a profusion of them in different parts of India. A dozen great names will at once occur to the mind of the older section of my readers—names like those of Sir Alexander Grant, Dr. Duff, Dr. John Wilson among the teachers; and those of Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man, Mr. M. G. Ranade, Mr. Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, and Mr. K. T. Telang among the students. In those days the relations between the professors and students were personal and intimate. The teachers awakened a profound reverence in the hearts of their students, and left an indelible impress on their mind and character. Thus the men who were sent forth by the Indian colleges were men who had drunk deeply at the fountains of Western literature, Western philosophy, and Western science, and were enthusiastic believers in England's ennobling and civilizing mission in India. They were lovers of the English people and of English rule, and were ready, and in fact eager, to mediate between the people and the Government—a duty for which they were so well qualified, and which they performed with so much faithfulness and such whole-hearted devotion. But times have altered, and within the last three

decades a great change has come over the spirit of liberal education in India—a change which in many of its aspects is the reverse of good. Liberal education is sought now chiefly as a means of money-making and worldly success, and very little for the sake of its higher uses as an instrument for the training of intellect and character. The product of higher education in these days is in many cases a man of scanty and ill-digested information, without sufficient apprehension of the means, processes, and purposes of Western civilization, while he is profoundly ignorant of the civilization of the East, often with a strong prejudice against the British nation and British rule—an unformed, undeveloped man morally and intellectually. As I have said before, I do not share the views of those who consider the present system of higher education to be a monstrous blunder and a colossal failure judged by its results; but I think we must, as honest judges, accept the sober and sombre judgment which was recorded by the members of the University Commission of 1902, after a prolonged and careful inquiry into the condition and working of higher education in India. "Having visited a considerable number of these [collegiate] institutions," the Commissioners say, "we are not disposed to confirm the sweeping condemnation which has sometimes been passed upon our University system. Many of the colleges command the services of able and devoted teachers, and we do not consider the students as a class to be wanting either in natural talent or in industry. In comparing our graduates with those of other Universities, it must be remembered that the Indian student often enters on his college course at an age when boys of other countries are still at school. We must also remember that the Indian Universities are of comparatively recent foundation, and that the resources of our Universities and colleges are very small when compared with the vast endowments of England and America, and the large sums placed by the Governments of other countries at the disposal of their Universities. Taking all the facts into

account; we see no reason to arrive at the determination at which the Government arrived in 1854 [when the present system of education was decreed by the British Government]. At the same time, we must admit that the acquirements of Indian graduates are in many cases inadequate and superficial. We make every allowance for the difficulties of a student who has to receive instruction in a foreign language. We do not forget that when Western students received all their instruction in a foreign language, the Latin of the schools was more fluent than correct; but after all allowance is made it is unsatisfactory to be told that the Indian B.A. not infrequently lacks the general training which he requires to fit him for the business of life or for a further course of study."

With attainments such as is described in this extract, the Indian graduate cannot be said to be sufficiently equipped by the education he receives to fight the battle of life, and we need not be surprised if he does not command much influence among the masses of his countrymen. The struggle for a life such as he desires and demands is so severe as to leave him little or no time for public work in the true sense, and destroys his possibilities of genuine leadership of the people. I am constrained to say that our educated classes do not understand the people, and have no means of knowing their real needs; and however much we may desire that our educated men should take their true position as representatives of the voiceless millions of their countrymen, we must face facts as we find them.

I do not take my educated compatriots at so low a valuation as is expressed by Mr. Lily in his book on the Problems of India; but I think there is much that is worthy of our serious attention in a passage like this, which I take from his book: "The educated native [of India] is in no sense a representative of the great mass of the inhabitants of India, and has no sort of influence with them. The vast bulk of the population, the cultivators of the land, know nothing about him. The hardy, warlike races who

furnish our best soldiers utterly despise him. He is, not ordinarily, a product of whom our rule should be proud."

If the characterization which I have given of the results of liberal education, as pursued during recent years, is correct, it will be worth our while to make a somewhat detailed inquiry into the causes which have led to the present unsatisfactory state of things. I shall first enumerate the principal causes as they appear to me, and then make what comment seems to be required in the way of explanation and illustration and suggestion.

1. The steady diminution in the number of great English educationists in India.

2. The insufficiency of the teaching staff, both native and European, in Indian colleges and high schools.

3. The unhealthy increase in the number of students in the colleges consequent on an excessive demand for collegiate education.

4. Diminishing association and co-operation between English and Indian teachers in the work of higher education.

5. The unsuitability of much of the teaching to meet the conditions and fulfil the functions of the life of our day.

Let us now consider these points separately, taking them in the order in which I have placed them. First, the decreasing number of great English educationists who come out to teach in the Indian colleges. The complaint is not that we do not get able Englishmen in our high schools and colleges. The Government authorities in England, and the governing bodies of the great missionary societies which are carrying on educational work in India, continue to send out the ablest graduates of British Universities, the flower of Western culture, to work in the institutions under their control; but what is to be deplored as a strong contributory factor in lowering the tone of higher education in India is the fact that a wrong and undesirable spirit has taken hold of the English educationists in India, both official and non-official. They have come to consider the

success of their pupils at the University examinations as the goal and consummation of their labours, and as marking the bounds of their legitimate work. The English professor in these days is too often found to confine his hours of attendance to the strictest limits of the time-table. He comes to his college and leaves his college punctually to the minute, according to the time-table—that sets him the law of his work. For mixing among the students he has no taste or desire. Social intercourse with men of an alien race is abhorrent to him; he seems to be in a state of nervous impatience to get back at the earliest possible moment to the society of his nation's mankind and woman-kind. The long vacations between the sessions of college, which can be so profitably devoted to the cultivation of friendly relations with his Indian pupils, and to the acquisition of accurate knowledge about the country and the conditions of the life of its people, the English professor, whether civilian or missionary, spends in some cool hill-station, where he is surrounded by his own, and protected from the intrusion of natives. His time is a good deal occupied in organizing and enjoying what are called the amusements of the season, or in holding different kinds of religious gatherings, or in writing what are known as educational books—chiefly annotations on the text-books prescribed for the University examinations—for which there is a large demand among students, and which is therefore a paying form of literary work. I gladly and willingly admit that here and there are to be found noble exceptions; but in general the description I have given will be recognized by those acquainted with the conditions of Indian education as a faithful picture of the life and activities of the present English educationists in India.

The second and third points above enumerated may be considered together. I have before pointed out that in the first epoch of higher education in India the number of men that were attracted to collegiate education was small, and was made up principally of the best intellects among the



country's youth. The studies then pursued were wide in their scope, and required for their successful prosecution exceptionally good intellectual ability and no small industry. In those days, collegiate education was considered by the public to be a thing for the few only who possessed the necessary talents. Public opinion has undergone a change; the leaders of Indian thought endeavoured to "popularize" higher education, and have successfully done so. The standards have been lowered to such an extent that in these days a University degree is within the reach of any young man of very moderate ability. Our colleges are now crowded by young men, many of whom have very poor intellectual parts, and are led to seek an academical education simply by the wrong state of public opinion prevailing around them on the subject of collegiate education. The results of this overflow have been most unfortunate. In our crowded college classes, representing the widest disparity of intellectual capacity and attainment, teaching in the proper sense of the term is non-existent. Much of what is lectured upon (I cannot say "taught") is above the heads of the scholars—either not understood at all or only half understood, which, in some ways, is more dangerous. Individual attention is impossible; there is hardly any personal contact between teachers and taught, and the impress left by training on the character of the students is of the weakest. The remedy for this unsatisfactory state of things seems to me to be twofold. First, the state of public opinion about the purpose and utility of higher education must be improved. We must get the public to understand that collegiate education is not a means to remunerative employment for their sons. It is an expensive process of culture which requires much time, and which the circumstances of the vast majority of youth make it undesirable for them to seek. When it is more generally understood that the Universities are temples of learning, and not workshops for money-making, then only two classes of students will want to enter our colleges—those who are rich in brains and those who are

rich in wealth, and such only the colleges can profit by the culture they impart. This, however, is not an immediate remedy, and in any case it is only a partial remedy for the evil. The immediate and more effective remedy is to provide a much larger number of teachers than are employed in the colleges at present. And this brings me to the deplorable neglect of the educational profession by our University men. Law and medicine and engineering attract nearly all the aspiring talent in the country, but educational zeal is a rare phenomenon. All honour, therefore, I say, to the noble band of educationists in the Fergusson College at Poona, who, at the cost of so much self-sacrifice, are giving their lives to the educational service of their countrymen. We want many hundreds of such men to devote themselves to educational work, looking to the value and necessity of the work, and not its emoluments, and then we shall have sufficient educational workers to bring individual influence to bear on the mind and heart of our students, and to make liberal education an influence, and not the veneer which it at present is.

Passing to the consideration of my fourth point—viz., the diminishing association and co-operation between English and Indian teachers in the work of higher education, I observe that this is, unfortunately, part of a much wider question—the prevailing estrangement between Englishmen and Indians in every field of activity in India, which is such an unfortunate feature of the present situation there. In education its effects are perhaps more pernicious than anywhere else. I am one of those who hold that the strong anti-English sentiment which unquestionably exists among the educated men of India, the desire for separation, and dissociation from English influence in every one of its forms, the demand for national education and national Universities, are the result—the natural and necessary result—of the neglect of English educationists to identify themselves more closely with the educational movement in India. They have allowed higher educa-

tion to pass out of their hands to a large extent, and they cannot justly complain if ideas hostile to the British connexion with India take hold of the rising generation of Indian students when they are doing so little through the natural and normal agencies of education to guide and influence its thought. I am convinced that, if England is to retain its hold on the affection and goodwill of the educated men of India, it can only be by Englishmen making up their minds to associate Indians on terms of practical equality with themselves in the manifold activities of Indian life, and particularly and foremost in education. How do matters stand at present? In the colleges under English management—Government or missionary—the large majority of the professors are European, and the minority of Indian professors are most of them assistants, whom the Europeans will not treat on terms of equality. In the colleges under native management, which now form the majority of the colleges in India, the staff is entirely Indian, and the prevailing sentiment tends to foster racial antipathy. As illustrative of this separatist tendency, I may recall an early episode in the history of the Fergusson College in Poona. When the Government of Bombay was approached, in the year 1887, by the originators of that institution, with the view of obtaining its recognition, Lord Reay, who was then the head of the Government, discerned the tendency to which I have referred. He foresaw the undesirable effect likely to be produced by the competition of two institutions at Poona, the one maintained by the Government (called the Deccan College), and the proposed Fergusson College, which would be independent. His Excellency entered into personal negotiations with representatives of the Fergusson College at Mahableshvar in 1887. He proposed to merge the two colleges into one, which should be under the superintendence of the Deccan Education Society, and should receive a liberal grant in aid from the Government, like the Gujerat College at Ahmedabad and the Sind College at Karachi. Notwithstanding the

Governor's earnest intervention, the negotiations led to no result. The Fergusson College fraternity were jealous of the introduction of a European element; the professors at the Deccan College preferred their status as Government officials. This opposition to the scheme of amalgamation could not be overcome, and the Fergusson College was eventually allowed to be opened as a separate and independent institution.

My fifth point is the absence of what I call up-to-date teaching in our colleges. This is a very important point, and I should like to dwell on it a little. It has been repeatedly pointed out in recent years that the education of an Indian graduate is exclusively literary, and that, to remedy the unpractical bias which results from such an education, a larger element of scientific instruction must be introduced in the Indian colleges. This is perfectly sound as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough, in my judgment. It is not enough that one or other branch of physical science should be taught to our students; what is wanted is that their whole school and college training should be practical, and such as to give them a working acquaintance with the principal facts of modern physical science in its application to the life of our day. We live in a scientific age, and no one who has not acquired a fair idea of the scientific processes on which so much of our modern life now depends can be said to be truly educated, because he cannot, without this knowledge, possibly understand the vastness and wonder of modern life. In this point of view our Indian graduates, many of them, are not educated men. Of the applications of physics and chemistry, which have revolutionized the whole of life in the nineteenth century, they have the vaguest conception. Magnetism, steam, electricity, are the merest names to them; of the vast and wonderful processes by which they are made applicable to the needs of life only a very small proportion of our educated men have any knowledge. If our young men in India, while they are at college, were taken to see half a dozen workshops, and given an ocular



demonstration, even in a very small way, of the vast scale on which the resources of science are used in the service of man's needs, they would have a much truer and much higher idea of the resources of Western civilization than they are able to gain through the education they get at present; and then they would be in a position to form a juster estimate of England's work in India, and a more correct appreciation of what India might have been without the scientific resources which England has brought within the reach of her people.

It is not an uncommon thing to hear even educated Indians question the benefit of railways, steamers, and telegraphs, and to represent these as forming part of the diabolical contrivances by which England drains India's wealth and impoverishes her people. The fact is that those who talk thus have no conception of the resources of science; they despise them only because they do not know anything about them. It is not only in the department of physical science that the great majority of our educated men are hopelessly ill-informed and uninstructed. It is the same with other subjects. Take literature itself, which is at present the staple of the higher education in India. Our Universities encourage a sort of critical and scholastic study of a very small number of English classics rather than a wide and discursive course of reading in English literature; the result is that the average graduate's range of reading is surprisingly small, much of his time at college being spent on a mechanical study of a few books which he is required to "master," as the phrase goes—the mastering consisting in the cram of much useless critical stuff for examination purposes. When we look at the instruction in history and the kindred subjects, we meet the same antiquated state of things. For example, in our colleges in Western India students preparing for their B.A. degree examination are taught the history of England up to 1832, and the history of India up to 1857, the year of the Mutiny. Now I do not desire to minimize the use of the study of this period; but it leaves the student



ignorant of the modern history both of England and India. How can he have a proper conception of the England and India of our day when his study of the history of these countries terminates just at the time when modern history begins? About the moral and material progress of his country since 1857 the Indian graduate has no real knowledge—no knowledge, that is to say, resting on anything better than hearsay or the reading of half-informed newspapers. And unfortunately, living, as he does in our days, in an atmosphere of suspicion and race prejudice, he easily imbibes the false and pernicious notion that England's work in India has been only to bleed her people and enrich herself at their expense. The young men who pass out of our colleges have never been taught anything about the elements of citizenship, they know nothing about the administration of India, nothing about the stupendous work that has been done and is in progress for the moral and material benefit of its people. I know of no parallel in all history to the work that England has achieved in my country, whether I look at its magnitude or at its beneficence. The more I realize the meaning and significance of that work as life affords larger opportunities of its study and observation, the more I marvel at it; but I am not in the least surprised that that work awakens no admiration, no gratitude, no enthusiasm, among the generality of my educated countrymen, the simple explanation of the fact being that they have never been taught to know anything about it. Until our colleges and high schools impart systematic instruction in "civics"—a branch of instruction of which the value is being increasingly recognized in Western seats of learning—our educated men will misunderstand and misrepresent British rule in India, and will become a hindrance rather than a help to the progress of constructive political reform in India. I may be permitted in this place to refer to one praiseworthy attempt which was recently made to meet the want I have indicated—an attempt which deserved, in my opinion, better recognition

and encouragement than it has hitherto met at the hands of Indian educationists. A few years ago a most useful and instructive book, entitled "*The Citizen of India*," was written by Sir William Lee Warner, whose long and distinguished official career in India qualified him in a special way to deal with the subject on which he wrote. It is needless to say that the book is written in a style admirably adapted to its purpose as a manual for the use of students in Indian colleges, and contains a clear, concise, and accurate statement of the broad facts of Indian administration—facts which every educated Indian should know, and the knowledge of which should form the foundation of any advanced study of Indian politics. The introduction of the book in the Government and aided high schools was recommended by the Bombay Government and the other provincial governments, but, unfortunately, its study was never earnestly taken up in any of the high schools or colleges in Western India. As I have said, the introduction of such a manual would help to fill up a dangerous gap in the curriculum of our colleges, and would form a suitable introduction to the study of political science with special reference to Indian politics, a study which educationists must introduce in the Indian colleges if the rising tide of political aspiration is to be turned into channels of progress and peace. If we desire the peaceful and orderly evolution of politics in India, we must endeavour to make the rising generation of students see that there is another kind of politics which is at least quite as worthy of their attention as the politics of *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj*.

To remedy this lack of what I shall call "*modernity*" in our courses of liberal education, I would suggest the addition of a paper on general knowledge at each of our University examinations, from the entrance examination upwards. We must instruct our students in the main facts and features—scientific, social, political, and moral—of modern life; and this should form the subject of the study for the paper on general knowledge. Of course, the subject-matter will have to be

carefully formulated, and its study graded so as to cover the whole period of the University course. The poverty of general knowledge among our students has to some extent attracted the attention of educational authorities in recent years, and the Indian Universities now set the candidates an essay at each of their examinations. An essay, however, becomes a test of English composition rather than of general information, and, besides, it is evident that in the absence of any teaching a mere essay set at examinations cannot do much to promote general knowledge.

In connexion with the defect I am considering, I cannot help lamenting the narrowness of the intellectual outlook of an Indian college. The intellectual horizon of most Indian colleges in these days is bounded by the study of the books prescribed for the examinations. Beyond that there is very little intellectual activity. There are debating societies connected with some colleges, but I have witnessed few debates or discussions affording evidence of wide reading or careful preparation on the part of the debaters; and it is very seldom that the professors actively interest themselves in guiding and stimulating this department of activity. Sometimes a college conducts a magazine or journal; but here again the help given by the professors is scanty, and even that is grudgingly given in some cases. The earlier generations of English educationists in India adopted means to encourage their scholars to read widely outside of the requirements of the University, and did not allow the examinations to become an incubus on the life of the college. I think the educational authorities in India and the leaders of Indian opinion should make earnest efforts to widen and stimulate the intellectual life of the colleges, which is at present so narrow and lethargic. The institution of a separate and more difficult test for honours at all the Universities examinations has often been advocated, and I believe the idea was favoured by the Universities Commission also; but nothing has yet been attempted in that direction by any of the Indian Universities. I think

very strongly that this reform, if introduced, will do much to raise educational standards and to promote culture. Our present system of examination makes no provision for the recognition or rewarding of wide study, and thus fails to encourage the spirit of scholarship or research. Another very desirable reform would be in each college to offer a goodly number of prizes for good essays on various subjects. We have a few such prizes in our colleges in Western India, but their number should be increased, and in order to encourage students to try for them, special classes should be arranged to give students the necessary guidance and help. The mention of special classes brings one to the subject of University extension, which is nowhere more desirable than in India. It is most important that we should give our educated men an opportunity of enlarging their knowledge after they have left school or college. At present there is no provision for this, and the culture of most graduates and undergraduates ends when they say good-bye to their high school or college. Why cannot the wealthy friends of education provide funds for University Extension lectures to be delivered in different cities, as is done in England under the auspices of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities? The professors in the colleges should undertake these lectures even if the work entails additional labour and trouble, for we are now at the parting of the ways in India, and the time calls to strenuous labour all those who control the agencies which can ensure the advance of the people in the true paths of progress.

I think it will help the discussion of my paper if, in closing, I summarize the remedies which I have suggested with the view of improving the defects in Indian education to which I have endeavoured to call attention. The remedies suggested are :

1. The spread of more correct ideas regarding the true functions of liberal education.
2. Larger association between native and European teachers.

3. More "modernism" in the studies of the University.
4. Increase in the teaching staff in the colleges with the view of securing closer contact between pupils and teachers.
5. The encouragement of a wider intellectual life in the colleges by the development of debating societies, by the formation of special classes for studies outside the curriculum, by the offer of prizes for meritorious essays on various topics and similar means.
6. Wider opportunities for general culture by some scheme of University Extension.
7. The introduction of a paper on general knowledge in all the University examinations, and the institution of an honours test for marking a high level of academic attainments.

My only apology for the introduction of a topic which may seem to be somewhat technical in its character is its vital importance, for it seems to me that in a wise system of liberal education we have the key to the solution of every social and political problem in India and in every country in the world, and that the first word of all constructive reform must be "Educate, educate, educate," as it must also be its last word.



## POPULAR GOVERNMENT AMONG MUSALMAN PEOPLES.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

AN English visitor to a seaman's hospital, who happened to be acquainted with the Arabic language, found in one of the wards an Arab stoker invalided from a British steamship, who hailed from some remote village in the Hinterland of Aden. The visitor entered into conversation with him, and asked him under what government the people lived in his country. "In our village," he replied, "the people assemble and choose twelve men from among us; and those twelve consult together and choose four of their number; and those four meet together and agree upon one of them to be the ruler over us, and we accept him as our ruler; and after that he can do as he likes: he is responsible only to God."

This Arab Lascar's utterance is an apt illustration of the typical Musalman's conception of sovereignty and his attitude to authority. With him, as with his Israelitish prototype, the ideal form of government is the Theocracy. It was, perhaps, owing more to the fact that the social and political ideas and forms obtaining among the Arabs were akin to those of the ancient Hebrews than to any deliberate imitation that the Arabian prophet appears to have borrowed his social and ethical legislation from his predecessor Moses; but the fact remains that Muhammedanism is only Judaism writ large. The moral law of the Koran is the moral law of the Pentateuch; the political ideal of both is the Theocracy, which inspires the choice of acceptable rulers by the congregation of the faithful. But to this body of believers the later prophet gave a wider signification. For the racial division between Jew and Gentile he substituted the more comprehensive distinction between believers and unbelievers; between

those who accepted Islam or submission to the Divine will, and those who remained Káfirs, or recalcitrants to God's authority. The manifestation of a Divine purpose in the government of this world, and in the ordering of all earthly affairs, is the keystone of the religious systems of both Moses and Muhammed, unaffected by the later dualism which dominated medieval Christianity, imagining an almighty and benevolent Creator as abdicating the control of human affairs in the face of the opposition of an inferior and malevolent being.

The Theocracy being the model government in the eyes of the Musalman, he judges all human governments by the measure of their approach to, or departure from, that standard; and as the Divine authority is absolute and unquestionable, an autocracy is the form of human authority which most nearly resembles it, provided, of course, that the authority is exercised in strict accordance with the provisions of the eternal and immutable Divine law formulated by God through His prophets. Thus the acceptance of the idea of Theocracy involves the natural corollary of the belief in the Divine right of Kings; and this doctrine, which is looked upon as an exploded fiction in modern Europe, is still held firmly by the masses of Islam. It might well be asked how such a doctrine could survive in the face of the frequent and violent changes of sovereigns and of dynasties which make up such a large part of the annals of Islam. But religious faith is never at a loss for an argument to justify itself in the face of, and in spite of, the incontrovertible logic of facts. To the Musalman whatever happens is in accordance with the decrees of Providence. The fate to which he appears to submit so apathetically is to him no blind chance, but a preordained scheme of destiny arranged by the Almighty. When the armies of Islam are victorious, their success is assured by the Divine will; when they are defeated their reverses are a just punishment for their neglect of some Divine ordinance. Thus every event can be explained or

construed to fit the exigencies of faith. If a rebellion against a lawful Sovereign is successful, it is a clear proof that his sovereignty was no longer lawful, and the rebels are justified; if their enterprise fails, it is evident that God did not intend it to succeed, and that it was undertaken contrary to His will, and was therefore unlawful. So the theory of Divine right opposes but a feeble obstacle to regicide and revolution, and the rapid succession of short-lived dynasties to unstable thrones is the recurring feature of Musalman history.

In spite of its theocratic and autocratic ideals, Islam is often spoken of as a democratic religion, in the sense that it recognizes no privileged or priestly distinction of class, that all Musalmans are equal before God and before the law. The social and political conditions of the Arabian people, for whom Muhammed legislated, had developed from the patriarchal into the tribal state. The authority of the Shaikh of the tribe reproduced that of the father of the family, and was upheld by the consensus of its members. The prophet consolidated the tribes into a nation, with himself at its head as the Divinely appointed ruler. He made no attempt to provide for the succession, doubtless trusting that the matter would be settled by Divine inspiration.

After his death the deliberations of the Shaikhs and elders of the nation resulted in the election of Abubakar to the position of Khalifa or deputy of the prophet on earth; and their choice was ratified by the almost unanimous consent of the congregation of Islam. The election of their ruler by the whole body of the "Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jamá'at" (the People of the Law and the Congregation) was the early and only law of succession in Islam. Practically, the election was determined upon by the leading men of the community, and the masses acquiesced in their decision. But, as would naturally happen, the hereditary principle soon began to assert itself, and, indeed, after the death of the prophet, a faction, which continually increased in numbers,

maintained that the line of succession to the office of chief ruler should run in the prophet's own family. This faction has developed into the sect of the Shiyás, whose doctrine has been adopted as the religious creed of the Persian nation at the present day, interposing a religious as well as a racial barrier between them and their Turkish, Arab, and Afghan neighbours. The theoretical elective system continued to exist alongside of the practical hereditary succession in the Arabian Khiláfat until its destruction by the Mongol Tartars in the thirteenth century. While it lasted the rule of the Khalifas was absolute ; and so was the rule of their able lieutenants, who took advantage of the feebleness of the central authority to promote themselves from the rank and status of Amir to that of Váli or Sultan. Sovereignty among the conquering Arabs unconsciously adopted the invariable despotism of Oriental monarchy, and the ruler or governor, whatever his title, ruled autocratically, after the fashion of Solomon or Darius. The voice of the people of the congregation of Islam was no more regarded in the administration than in the succession, which was decided by the claims of birth or by the use of force. The only safeguard against misgovernment was the fear of rivals ever ready to take advantage of the ruler's unpopularity, or the danger of revolt when the patience of a long-suffering people should be exhausted.

The Mongols who succeeded to the empire of the Arabian Khalifs had retained in their heathen and nomad state some form of popular government. Their Khán was elected by the qurultái, or national assembly, in which the chiefs and warriors deliberated and voted on horseback, and the successful candidate was elevated to the throne on the bucklers of his supporters. The Polish Diet, in which the magnates and nobles met on horseback to decide upon the choice of a King, continued down to the eighteenth century in Europe this ancient custom of their Asiatic and nomadic Sarmatian ancestors. When the Turkoman adventurer, Nadir Shah, usurped the throne of Persia in the year 1736,



he bethought himself of reviving the memories and emulating the glories of the Mongol conquerors, and summoned a new *qurultái* to elect a monarch to reign over the restored Empire of Iran. For this purpose his formidable army was assembled on the great plain of Moghán, in the north-west of Persia; and the farce of election was solemnly gone through; it may well be imagined that no rival candidate dared to put in an appearance, and Nádír was declared to be elected Shah by the unanimous acclamations of the soldiery. Assuming the style of *Zililláhi* (the Shadow of God), he ruled more despotically even than his predecessors, and fell a victim to a conspiracy provoked by his unbridled tyranny.

The institution of the *qurultái* did not survive the conversion of the Mongol Tartars from heathenism to Islamism, and from the condition of a nomad horde to that of a settled nation. The power and glory of Changhiz Khán assured the succession to his posterity, and his sons and grandsons inherited and divided the vast empire that he had gained. Their government followed the ordinary course of Oriental despotism, tempered only by the restrictions of the sacred law.

In Egypt the military corps of Mamelukes, recruited from purchased slaves, usurped the throne of their creators and masters, the successors of Saladin; and their valour, and the wealth which they derived from the possession of the channels of the Eastern trade with Europe, raised Egypt to the premier place in the world of Islam. But the Egyptians had no share in the government of their own country. The Mamelukes were Turks, Circassians, European renegades, and other men of northern nationality. The qualification for a *Mamlúk* was to be a slave purchased or captured in war, and their own children were excluded from their corps and community. They were ruled over by twenty-four Beys, who nominated their successors from among their favourite slaves, and elected one of their number to be their Sultan, who accepted the office as *primus inter pares*.



But here, also, the hereditary principle crept in: the son of a successful Sultan sometimes managed to secure the suffrages of his Beys and soldiers by the aid of the treasure and munitions of war bequeathed to him by his father.

The succession was often sought by cabals, and secured by violence. After the conquest of Egypt by the Turkish Sultan Selim, the power and authority of the Mameluke Sultan was transferred to the Turkish Viceroy, or Pasha, of Cairo; but the four-and-twenty Mameluke Beys continued to govern the provinces of the country, having entered into a composition with their conqueror. In the next 300 years there was a perpetual triangular struggle for the predominant power in Egypt between the Pasha, the Mameluke Beys, and the Aghas of the Turkish soldiery who formed the garrisons of the cities. The Egyptians themselves had absolutely no share in the government. It is extraordinary that a social and political system like that of the Mamelukes should have endured for so many centuries unaltered, and it is an instance of the impassable gulf which divides Christian from Musalman opinion on the subject of slavery that for 600 years the rulers and the aristocracy of Egypt should have been furnished by an alien soldiery, every man of whom was a purchased slave. The power of the Mamelukes was broken and their numbers thinned by Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt, and the remnant of them was treacherously entrapped and ruthlessly exterminated by Muhammad Ali Pasha in 1811.

The Regencies of the Barbary States have been called "military republics," and they may have been republics in the Turkish and Musalman sense of the term, but in no other. These States were originally founded by the supersession of the native Moorish Governments by colonies of Turkish corsairs, and were in time converted, like Egypt, into provinces or Pashaliks of the Ottoman Empire. But the observance of the treaties of peace which their Sovereign concluded with Christian Powers being detrimental to the pursuit of their piratical calling, which was their chief or sole

source of subsistence, the Turks of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli seceded from the empire, setting up autonomous Governments of their own. The Sultan connived at the arrangement which permitted the corsairs to continue their enterprises against the Christian coasts and commerce, while it relieved him of all responsibility for their actions. In two of the Regencies the popular government soon degenerated into the ordinary type of Oriental autocracy: a Pasha in Tripoli and a Bey in Tunis established hereditary dynasties of rulers; but in Algiers the Turkish community continued to elect its chief magistrate, and to claim a voice in the management of public affairs, until the French conquest of the city in 1830. It was the custom of the soldiers of the corps of Janissaries, who, like the Mamelukes, were the slaves of the Sultan, in the not infrequent event of their mutiny against their master's authority, to elect a leader from among themselves, like the *Eletto* of the Spanish soldiery under similar circumstances. To this leader they gave the title of *Dái* (*anglice* Dey),\* which is the Turkish word for maternal uncle, a title supposed to be derived from prehistoric times and a polyandrous state of society, when the pastoral Turkish tribes alternately inhabited the uplands or the valleys of Central Asia.

The Janissaries, who formed a large majority of the Turkish community in Algiers, elected one of their own number as their *Dái*, and installed him as their President. He was assisted in the executive functions by a Divan, or Council, modelled on the Imperial Divan of Constantinople, of which we shall speak hereafter. Its members were the *Khazánadár* or Treasurer, the *Daftardár* or Recorder, the *Mufti* or Chief Doctor of the Law, and the *Agha* or General of the Janissaries. For the adoption of administrative measures the whole body of senior officers of the troops, the *Oda Báshis* (Colonels) and *Buluk Báshis* (Captains), was convoked to discuss and sanction or con-

\* Von Ranke spells the word erroneously as "Dahi"; and Sir Edward Creasy, in his "History of the Ottoman Turks," has imitated his mistake.

demn the proposed measure. They stood in ranks in the court of the Divan, with their thumbs in their girdles, an attitude enforced to prevent brawling and striking; speeches were delivered for or against the proposals of the Council, and the question was decided by the vote of the majority, or in favour of the side which shouted the loudest.

When the matter was of momentous import to the State, such as the question of peace or war with an European Power, the whole body of Janissaries was assembled to vote upon it. In order to admit all the Turks in Algiers to political privileges, they were all formally enrolled as Janissaries. The Moors and Arabs, who were the population of the country, were excluded from all share in the government. Even the Kuloghli (slave children), who were the sons of the Turks by Moorish or by captive Christian women, were not allowed any political rights, though they bore arms and served as an auxiliary militia. The number of the Turkish ruling caste was maintained by enlisting recruits in Asia Minor.

The Deyship was nominally elective, but in fact it was generally the prize of the cleverest conspirator or the most truculent ruffian among the soldiery.

When some bold and successful corsair captain aspired to the chief office in the State, he formed a cabal among the officers of the troops, induced a Jewish banker to finance his undertaking, and raised a riot or a mutiny, in which the ruling Dey was assassinated by his faction, who then proclaimed their leader, trusting to win over the majority of the troops by largess or by intimidation. Sometimes two or three Deys were elected and assassinated in quick succession, even upon the same day. During the two centuries that the Regency of Algiers existed under this communal form of military despotism, hardly one of its Deys died a natural death.

Though the Turks were only a handful compared to the native population (there were 5,000 Turks in all in Algeria when the French conquered Algiers in 1830), the Moors

and Arabs submitted themselves resignedly to their arbitrary rule. As the government of the Dey and the Janissaries seemed, to a European's way of thinking, the worst that could possibly be imagined, the French fondly supposed that the Moors would enthusiastically welcome the change to a civilized system under which security of life and property was secured to all subjects; but they were bitterly disappointed, and it took a French army of 100,000 men and twenty years of continuous warfare to effect the subjugation of a people which had endured the feeble and tyrannical rule of the Turks for 300 years. The Moor and the Frenchman regarded political, as well as social, institutions from a totally opposite point of view: arbitrary government, which to the Frenchman appeared the worst of evils, was by the Moor considered to be the only rightful and reasonable method of carrying on the administration of public affairs.

It was not only in the Barbary States that the Janissaries usurped the authority of their masters; in the heart of the Ottoman Empire also they played an important part on the political stage. These soldiers, originally recruited as captives and slaves from alien races, had become, in the course of centuries of service under the banners of the Crescent, more Turkish than the Turks themselves. Their earliest mutinies were prompted by the desire of securing immediate advantages for themselves; the consciousness of their power suggested the prospect of directing the affairs of the empire, and even of controlling and thwarting the will of the Sultan. The institution of *Yamaks*, or reservist Janissaries, by Sultan Murad III. in the seventeenth century linked them more closely to the nation, and gave an increased stimulus to their political activities. Under this system the Colonels of regiments were allowed to enrol civilian volunteers as Janissaries; the men took the military oath, and were admitted to many of the privileges of membership of the corps on condition of their joining the colours when called upon. This system was immensely



popular, and some favourite regiments numbered thousands of names upon their rolls. It destroyed the military efficiency of the corps, while it greatly augmented its political influence; for an intense *esprit de corps* animated the whole body of Janissaries, and the Yamaks might always be trusted to make common cause with their comrades in barracks. Henceforth the Janissaries constituted themselves the mouthpiece of the nation's discontent, and the avengers of its wrongs.

When the tyranny or the incapacity of a Sultan exceeded the ordinary bounds, or the exactions and peculations of a Vazir passed the conventional limits, the Janissaries of Constantinople assembled round their overturned soup-kettles in the Atmaidan or Hippodrome and demanded the abdication of the unpopular Sultan or the head of the offending Vazir. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seven Sultans of the House of Othman were deposed, and three of them put to death, by the Janissaries. Unfortunately for the nation and for themselves, they took the wrong side in politics, and allied themselves with the 'Ulama, or Doctors of the Law, in their opposition to the introduction of any reforms into the civil or military administration. Ignorant of the lessons of history, they did not know the law of Nature which compels a State or a nation either to progress or to perish. They obstinately resisted the inevitable inrush of the forces of reform, and were swept away by the rising tide.

Their ruin removed the only check on the arbitrary power of the Sovereign, and the Ottoman Empire has been worse governed, if that were possible, since their dissolution than in the moments of their wildest excesses. Lately the Sultan has even ceased to govern through the Cabinet of Ministers commonly known as the Sublime Porte (*Báb-i-Humáyún*), and directs the affairs of the empire through his private secretariat at Yildiz Kiosk. The Imperial Divan, or Council of Ministers, was a remarkable institution in the Ottoman Empire, preceding as it did by more than



a century any similar institution in European countries. The Divan, or Council of State, was sometimes presided over by the Sultan himself, or, in his absence, by the Grand Vazir, who was Premier and Minister for War; other members were the Khazanadár (Treasurer), the Daftardár (Recorder), the Kapitan Pasha (Minister of Marine), the Shaikh-ul-Islam (Chief of the 'Ulama), and the Agha of the Janissaries. The Pashas of Buda, Baghdad, and Cairo, being the premier Pashas in the three continents, had the title of Vazir and the right to a seat in the Imperial Divan during their visits to Constantinople.

The Divan met periodically to discuss affairs of State, and its opinions habitually prevailed over the will of ignorant and indolent Sultans, and shaped and directed the policy of the empire.

In all the great provincial cities of the empire the governing Pasha was assisted by a similar Divan or Council, composed, in strict imitation of that of the capital, of the local functionaries and commanders of the troops. But these institutions, which contained the germs of a better system of government, failed entirely to place any check upon the arbitrary authority of the Viceroy or Pasha, whose absolute power was only restrained by the insubordinate interference of the Janissaries in the affairs of administration.

The reforms introduced into the administration of Turkey and Egypt during the past century have been due entirely to the influence of European ideas, and have been forced upon a reluctant people by the despotic action of the Sovereign. Thus we see that the course of reform in Musalman States is diametrically opposite to what it is in Christian nations: in the latter reforms are demanded by the people, and are imposed by the national will on an unwilling ruler; in the former the reforms come, not from below, but from above, and are forced by a despotic Sultan or Khedive upon a sullenly acquiescent, or a violently hostile, population. All national political movements in

Islam are not liberal, but conservative, in their tendency ; they never seek to modify the theocratic ideal or the autocratic practice of government, but rather to confirm it ; they aim at abrogating recent reforms of European origin, of returning to the practices of the times of the Khiláfat, of "putting back the hands of the clock of time to where they stood at the death of the prophet Muhammad." Such were the great Wahábi revival of the closing years of the eighteenth century, and the Dervish or Mahdist movement in the Egyptian Soudan a hundred years later. The men who commenced and who followed these movements did not want a share in the government ; they wanted to accept with blind submission the leader appointed by God :

"They were not stirred by passion,  
Nor yet with wine made bold ;  
No thought had they of honour,  
Nor cared they aught for gold.  
To them their leader's signal  
Was as the voice of God ;  
Unswerving, uncomplaining,  
The path of death they trod."

But they sacrificed their heroic lives in vain. The methods and the weapons that had served the cause of Islam in the seventh century were of no avail in the nineteenth, when matched with more modern arts and arms.

The propaganda of the Senoussiya brotherhood in North Africa at the present day is another expression of the popular will of Islam, another hopeless attempt to erect an effective barrier against the advancing tide of European civilization. But in a few places in the Musalman world, notably in British India, European education has raised up a school of enlightened men who perceive that the salvation of the people lies in going forward, and not backward, and that to adhere at the present day to forms of government and maxims of policy which were instituted to suit a pastoral people in a primitive state of society simply spells political ruin.

To this school belonged Midhat Pasha, the ablest and

most enlightened statesman that the Ottoman Empire has seen since the days of the Kuprilis. He headed the cabal which, in the year 1876, dethroned and assassinated the Sultan Abdul Aziz I., whose insane extravagance had brought the empire to the verge of financial ruin. His imbecile nephew, Murad V., was placed upon the throne, and Midhat assumed the reins of power, formulated a Constitution, and convoked a Parliament composed of notables from all the provinces of the empire.

It would have been a miracle if this strange and heterogeneous assembly had worked harmoniously; but it never had a fair trial. Its sole achievement was its unanimous declaration of war against the Russian Czar, who had once more assumed the rôle of protector of the Christian subjects of the Porte. The insanity of Sultan Murad compelled his deposition, and the new Sultan, Abdul Hamid II., was a determined enemy to all liberal ideas of government, though he dissembled his real feelings and intentions till he felt himself secure upon his slippery throne. He then took advantage of a revulsion of popular feeling, dissolved the short-lived Parliament, banished Midhat Pasha and all the adherents of reform, and re-established the old autocracy. He has since persistently persecuted any of his subjects who may be suspected of leaning to liberal ideas, and he eventually put Midhat to death along with some of his associates. Rarely appearing outside of his palace walls, he governs his empire with his pen from his private cabinet in the Yildiz Kiosk, like Philip II. of Spain, through the channels of delators and spies.

In Egypt the senseless and reckless extravagance of the Khedive Ismail also led to his deposition, but it was by the joint action of European Powers that he was deposed, and not by the resentment of his overtaxed subjects.

Nor was the military revolt of Arábi Pasha a popular movement in any sense of the word; the soldiers blindly followed their commanders, and Arábi and his companions were only puppets whose wires were pulled by clever and

unscrupulous conspirators behind the scenes, who had in view only their own selfish objects. The Khedive Tewfik was but another puppet, first in the hands of the agitators, and afterwards in those of the English. The latter thenceforth assumed control of the finances and administration of Egypt, and under the old forms of Oriental despotism exercised a humane and beneficent sway, lightening the burden of taxation, dealing out equal justice to all creeds and to all classes, and encouraging trade, industry, and education. But the attempt to initiate some system of popular government in Egypt by the institution of elective councils meets with no response from the Egyptian people.

The Arabs have a favourite saying : " *Al Mulk w'ad Dín Tawámán* " (the State and the Church are twins) ; and according to the tenets of the strictest school of Muslim political jurisprudence, an infidel Government—*i.e.*, a Government which does not govern in accordance with the precepts of the Korán—is not a legal Government at all. But there is another Arabic proverb to the effect that " a kingdom may endure with infidelity, but it cannot endure with injustice " ; and the Persian poet Jámi represents God as addressing King David, and exhorting him to justify His revelation by his justice, lest the Kings of the infidels—

" The fire-adoring Princes rather  
Be my Prophets, who fulfil,  
Knowing not my Word, my Will." \*

As long as the flag of the Crescent is kept flying, and the name of a Musalman ruler is used in the Khutba in the Friday prayers in the mosque, the Egyptian Fellah or the Tunisian Moor troubles himself little about the form of government he lives under.

The Indian Musalmans used to say in the Honourable Company's time, " *Khalq Khudá ká, Mulk Pádsháh ká, Ráj Ingliz ká* " (the people are God's, the country is the

\* Fitzgerald's translation of Jámi's " *Salaman and Absal*."



King's, the Government is the Englishman's), and they were quite contented with the arrangement; it was the removal of the Mogul Emperor's superscription from the coinage and other outward and visible signs of the supersession of Islam as the religion of the ruling Powers that aroused the bitter feelings which found expression in the great Mutiny of 1857. It is a remarkable fact that our Musalman fellow-subjects in India have shown no sympathy with the recent agitation in favour of some representative form of government raised by some educated Hindus: the Muhammedans not only do not desire a popular form of government, but they show themselves inclined to oppose the Hindu agitation in favour of it.

Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's supposition that the Egyptian people aspire to assume the task of governing themselves has no foundation in fact; they would, no doubt, be glad to be rid of foreign interference with their manners and customs (the prohibition of slavery is to them the most unpopular feature of British rule); but if left to their own devices they would choose for their ruler some strong man, and cheerfully commit to his hands the uncontrolled authority which is the only form of government which they are capable of conceiving. Of the small minority who have received a European education in the French and English colleges of Cairo and Alexandria we do not speak; Mr. Blunt has probably mistaken their voice for that of the majority of the nation.

The Pathan tribes who inhabit the mountain ranges on the north-western frontier of India, and the Turkomans who roam over the steppes by the Caspian shores, possess the germs of popular government in their Jirgas or tribal councils, and their assemblies of Ak-sakals (greybeards), who deliberate and decide on matters of tribal interest. Among the former there seems to be sometimes a contest for authority between the Malik, or chief of the tribe, and the Jirga, or council of elders. It is said to be deference for the feeling of independence that animates the Afghan nation that prevents its Amirs from assuming the regal



state and title ; but the Amir of Kabul rules as absolutely as any Shah or Sultan, and so did the Afghan Kings of the Duráni dynasty at Kandahar, which was overthrown by the present Bárakzai family more from motives of private revenge than on any public grounds. The tendency of both Afghans and Turkomans as they become settled and civilized is to accept the principle of Divine right, and to submit to the autocracy of their ruler, without any attempt to place limits to his authority.

Persia presents in many respects a contrast to the other countries of Islam. The original Persians were of Aryan stock, and though they have for many centuries been swamped by successive floods of Semitic and Mongolian conquest and migration, the Aryan spirit still survives, and, to some extent, informs the national mind. It could not assimilate the sterile monotheism which satisfied the Semitic Jew and Arab, and the Shiyá heresy has been the consequence, cutting off the Persians from the congregation of Islam. It has given rise to other strange manifestations of dissent from orthodoxy, such as Sufism, and the modern reformed religion of the Báb or the Gate, with an ethical system similar to, and probably based upon, the religion of Christ.

The Persians as a race are more intelligent and more quick to seize new ideas than their Turkish and Arab neighbours, and it is not surprising that the first attempt to impose some sort of constitutional and popular control upon the will of the monarch should be made in Persia. The recent agitation against the tobacco monopoly, when the Shah quailed before the menaces of the Teheran mob, showed the people their power, and the spectacle of an Oriental nation awaking from the sleep of centuries and hurling back from its confines the Christian hosts, at whose approach all Asia was accustomed to quail, has profoundly impressed the Persian mind. Hitherto Turkey and Persia have borrowed from Europe only the outward forms of military organization and civil administration, high collars

and patent-leather boots, the dry husks of a European kernel. Why not imitate the example of Japan, and assimilate the European spirit of inquiring thought and energetic action, which has made the smallest of the continents the law giver to the rest of the world?

The other spectacle of the relentless struggle between the failing forces of autocracy and the growing strength of democracy in the neighbouring Empire of Russia has also had its effect on the Persian people, while they have awoke to the consciousness of the disagreeable fact that under the present system of government their nation is becoming more enfeebled and more impoverished every day. They have sought safety and relief in the substitution of the will of the nation for the will of the Shah, and the first conflict between the two has ended to the disadvantage of the monarch. The experiment of the introduction of Parliamentary government into Persia will be watched with interest and sympathy by all Englishmen, to whom the welfare and prosperity of that ancient kingdom should be a cherished object. But if Persia would imitate the example of Japan, her citizens must emulate the conduct of the Japanese, and seek the public weal rather than their own private interests. The curse of Oriental despotism is that it breeds a race of crafty and greedy sycophants, who regard political power only as a stepping-stone to the accumulation of wealth and the gratification of their passions. No Turkish Pasha ever gives a thought to the welfare of the people whom he governs or the interests of the master whom he serves. In Persia the Firmán Firmá, or Viceroy of a province, is often a Prince of the blood royal, whose interests are bound up with those of the dynasty, but this hardly ameliorates the lot of the people over whom he rules. The lack of Persia is the lack of the righteousness that exalteth a nation, and without which no nation can long stand and prosper, whatever its form of government may be. Ability the Persians do not lack; the nation that can boast of Nadir Shah and Karím Khán Zand should not be at a loss for soldiers and statesmen.

# SOME LESSONS FROM HISTORY ON THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.\*

By C. W. WHISH.

## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

OWING to the haste with which this paper was prepared, some important lessons of history have been, I fear, omitted. Among these are the following: the comparative unimportance of local *émeutes*, unless aggravated by outside political complications; the advisability of governing a people through its aristocracy; the importance of making the administration as cheap as is consistent with efficient government; and the connected lesson of keeping up the prestige of the governing body. Prestige saves many battalions and their cost. There is an important lesson from the Roman administrative policy—that of suiting every kind of progress and development with corresponding privileges.

The settlement of Gaul by Augustus seems to have been the model for our cadastral survey and land revenue assessment policy in India. The Gaulish settlement was too high, and seems to have had some share in the revolts of the early first century. Tiberius showed his appreciation of the first of the above lessons in his suppression of these risings. There is a possible lesson from ancient Indian history (and, of course, innumerable ones in the medieval and modern periods) if we could find out whether India was really happy under her "grandmotherly" Emperor Asoka. We seem to have learnt one bad lesson from Roman judicial policy—the conduct of preliminary inquiries into criminal cases by the police. With these remarks I will proceed.

If we are to bring to the solution of any administrative problem that calm and statesmanlike deliberation which

\* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

alone can render the solution satisfactory, certain preliminary processes seem necessary.

It is not sufficient to enter on our task with a mind free from partisanship, extremism and onesidedness; it is also necessary to undergo a kind of preparatory training.

The most important part of this training will be supplied by a study of the past. We shall then approach our subject in the light derived from that comprehensive whole of which it forms a part.

Of course, even the philosophic historian cannot claim the gift of political prophecy; he could not do this even if circumstances were precisely similar, which can never be the case. But the general lines on which action should be taken, the general principles which should be safeguarded, are surely to be sought in the records of the past. I propose, in this paper, to examine those records with the view of discovering what light they throw on our administrative difficulties in the East.

It would be impossible, within the limits of a single paper, to go further than the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West. The medieval and modern period, covering such important divisions of the subject as the lessons given us by the Arab and the Turk, the attempts at Empire building by the Crusaders, and the actual beginnings of oversea colonization, would require separate treatment. So also, it may be permissible to remark, would the achievements of such men as Swettenham and Lugard, who have gone far towards solving the problem with which we have to deal.

The division of the subject (too vast for anything but piecemeal treatment) to which I invite your attention is not inferior to these more modern ones, in its application to our present difficulties. I will pass rapidly over earlier periods of history during which more advanced nations seem to have been successful in the government of others, either retrograde or in inferior stages of development, and concentrate attention on the provincial administration of the Romans under the Early Empire.



## A POSSIBLE LESSON FROM CHINA.

We begin by a glance at the oldest and most continuous Empire of the world—China. At an epoch impossible to date accurately, but probably about the third millennium B.C., occurs that remarkable golden age of the Chinese Empire which is associated with the names of the great Emperors Yao, Chun and Yu. The connexion here with our subject is that the people seem to have been supremely happy, and that all problems of administration were apparently either non-existent or solved. One point (if not falling exactly within the range of practical politics) is at least highly interesting. The principal feature of those "halcyon days" in China seems to have been that the man who was to succeed the ruler for the time being was before the public, and in charge of important branches of the administration during the major portion of his predecessor's reign.

As during the Roman golden age of the Antonines, the successor was chosen, not for dynastic reasons, but because he was universally acknowledged to be the best man in the State. The parallel, therefore, with the British administration of India is faulty for other reasons than because this Chinese Empire is only a domestic one, and the word "Empire" is perhaps scarcely applicable to it. But it is impossible to avoid the remark that two of the most enlightened members of the Indian aristocracy, both of them leaders of their respective faiths in their native land, have recently proposed as a remedy for the increasing difficulties of Indian administration, that the Governor-General should be a member of the English Royal Family.

Could we consult the feelings of the Indians alone, there is no doubt as to which of the Royal Princes they would prefer. Had they learnt to know the Heir-Apparent as Viceroy they would cherish feelings of the most enthusiastic loyalty to him as King-Emperor. This would be, to a certain extent, an imitation of the Chinese system.



## THE EGYPTIAN EXPANSION.

We pass on to take a glance at Egypt. In the second millennium B.C., with a tremendous rebound from centuries of foreign domination, we find the great House of Thotmes establishing what has been somewhat inaccurately termed the first Empire of antiquity. We have no reliable records of the foreign domination, which might have deserved the imperial title equally with the expansion of the great Kings of the Egyptian Restoration ; and if we had, it is not likely that the period would throw much light upon our problems.

But from the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, the most notable contribution of the nineteenth century to the "Records of the Past," we do get information from which we can glean something very like a lesson. The foreign Administration of the great Kings of the eighteenth dynasty was carried on by local chiefs ; and this system was continued by the Assyrians when their turn for Empire-building came round.

Some speculators have expressed the opinion that the strength of these Empires was directly due to this system of decentralization. Applied to India the "lesson," if one can use the term, clearly indicates the solution of our difficulties by gradually enlarging the native States.

But here we are at once pulled up by the consideration—would the interests of the masses be safeguarded by such a process? This might be the case if, following the lesson from China, we insisted upon the ruler-designate being before the public for a term of years previous to his actual accession.

It might be possible to throw some light on this question by local inquiries where British provinces march with those of semi-independent Feudatories. This is, of course, a subject in itself, which it is impossible to treat adequately as part of another. But the success or failure of the administration which is now being carried on in such States as Mysore and Baroda must throw light on the question. Attentive scrutiny of results in these microcosmic imita-

tions of British India is surely a duty incumbent on those responsible for guiding the ship of State through the rocks ahead.

#### THE GREAT CENTRALIZED ADMINISTRATIONS.

We now come to a total change. One of the greatest administrators the East—indeed, the world—has ever seen inaugurates the perfected system of centralization of the Persian Empire. It would almost seem as if our own congeries of local administrations, controlled by a supreme viceregal court, were modelled to some extent on the institutions of Darius the Great.

Alexander, a master of compromise, as of every other subject to which he directed his mighty genius, may be held to have combined the new system with the old feudalism—at least to a certain extent.

Materials for constitutional history are, of course, terribly scanty in these early times, but one of the central facts of the world's history is the vast network of municipalities, as we should call them, planted by the great Macedonian all over the hellenized world. Each of these must be regarded as having a kind of charter, written or unwritten, and the basis of the famous "freedom of the Greeks" and of self-government was always to be found in these cities, standing out like rocks of constitutional liberty, so to speak, in an ocean of despotism.

Here is a lesson of history derived from an antiquity almost hoary, for the Phœnicians were probably the predecessors of the Greeks in starting these city States, and perhaps we may go still further back to Babylon for the idea. The continuous teaching of the past seems to tell us that municipal freedom and self-government has always been a source of strength rather than of weakness to an Empire, and surely we have here a most useful hint for the solution of the Indian problem.

Let the new principle of Indian nationality try its "prentice hand" at municipal self-government—let us have

more Bombays, if we can create them, and in them let the rising civilization expand. Let us hope that commerce, that art, that literature will develop in our Indian cities, for these things mark the greatness of a nation, and when it advances in these directions, political advancement cannot be long in following.

### THE MEDITERRANEAN EMPIRE.

We come now to our principal subject. In the year 216 B.C. Rome was trembling for her very existence. Half a century later she was the practical mistress of the world. She had not the remotest idea how to govern it, and that ignorance led more than anything else to the civil wars. The Republic died, and the Empire had its birth in a deluge of blood, and at one time oriental autocracy in the person of Mithridates Eupator had wrenched away the Eastern provinces from the reign of law. That loss was recovered by the genius of the oligarch Sulla, who was the first practical Emperor of Rome. When the demagogue Cæsar had supplied the deficiencies of his predecessor's system, and the opportunist Augustus had combined all that the world wanted of the three different systems of government, the most marvellous progress had been made in statesmanship. Decentralization finds its representatives in the client Kings, and central rule in the government of the Imperial legates.

But what compels the attention of the student of statecraft more than anything else is the astonishing difference in the condition of the provinces. Groaning in misery under the late Republic, they were so happy under the early Empire, that even the dark days of the Roman Terror produced no disturbance of provincial peace. The result must be pregnant with lessons for the Indian administrator—even down to such apparently trivial details as transport and supplies to camps he could find invaluable hints as to how to combine the satisfaction of the demands of the State with a minimum of popular discontent.

## GREECE UNDER ROMAN RULE.

It must occur to the most superficial observer to compare the Roman government of Greece and the British government of India. It is to be feared that Greece, having taken the wrong side in the Cæsar-Pompeian War, was largely depopulated during that struggle. But this does not prevent our parallel being a striking one.

A general and earnest appreciation of the Hellenic genius had set in at Rome, and the bureaucracy which administered Hellas was probably distinguished by a knowledge of the Greek language and customs. The miseries of Greece under her early Roman governors should emphasize the importance of a thorough knowledge of the vernaculars of India in all concerned in her administration.

## THE LANGUAGE QUESTION.

Among the causes of the present unrest, according to the indigenous Press, deficient knowledge of Indian languages among the younger members of the Civil Service finds a conspicuous place. As far as I remember, when I was in India the encouragement of the study of Oriental languages and literature by the High Proficiency and Honour Examinations was not sufficient to attract more than a sprinkling of men—those who would naturally have availed themselves of such opportunities from temperament and predilection. There was no widespread recognition of the political importance of the matter.

But surely a knowledge of the art, literature, and philosophy of India is the surest step of all others towards that sympathy which the Prince of Wales has declared to be so necessary for the efficient government of our great dependency.

Just as the best of the Romans assimilated the Hellenic culture, and diffused it all over Europe, so, surely, ought we to be the bearers to the West of the great message which the East has still to give.

In working together with the cultivated Indian at the task of making available for Western comprehension that spiritual world in which India is so supreme, and a knowledge of which is so necessary in our materialistic age—in unfolding some of those treasures of art, literature, and philosophy which force can destroy but never utilize—the Englishman will almost find the whole social problem solved. Co-operation in this great task will bind him closer to his Eastern brother than anything else. I shall never forget the impression made upon me by noticing a young Prussian just arrived from Berlin to study the Sankya philosophy, and able to converse at once with the Benares Brahmins in Sanskrit.

From such co-operation we may, perhaps, expect that scholarly history of the Great Peninsula, for which we are all waiting—one which will do for India what Mommsen's History has done for Rome.

Among the lessons in administration which crowd upon and bewilder us in observing the internal condition of the Mediterranean Empire, none is more important than the curious juxtaposition of Emperor-worship and the redress of popular grievances.

The cult of the Emperor started almost as soon as the Empire itself. We may regard it as scarcely personal, but representing a kind of popular gratitude for the blessings of the Pax Romana.

Would that we could develop feelings of a similar character for the Pax Britannica in India! At all events, the deification of the office and its results explains the connexion between two matters apparently wide apart.

It appears that the curious kind of "associations cultuelles" which exercised this double function were first started on the soil of Asiatic Greece. The idea was to give some sort of official recognition to that "Freedom of the Greeks" which was the ostensible pretext for the Roman Conquest, and also to that Pan-hellenism which did not always happily combine with liberty.



## THE ROMANIZATION OF GAUL.

From Greece the cult of the Emperor spread to Gaul, and its development there is of peculiar interest to our subject. If the conclusions of the great historian of French institutions (M. Fustel de Coulanges) be correct, Gaul adopted Roman civilization and customs with the utmost alacrity, and the parallel between it and India is in the highest degree instructive. The representative bodies responsible for the due performance of the ceremonies connected with the Imperial cult could represent direct to the Emperor any popular grievances. They had bound themselves to the Empire by those sacrifices offered on the "altar of the three Gauls" at Lyons, the capital of Roman France, and by that very act they became a power in the land before which the provincial governors themselves quailed. A judicious distribution of Roman citizenship, and the appointment of the leaders of the people to high administrative posts, completed the identification of the new province with the Empire.

Is not that famous assembly at Rheims an object-lesson of the highest importance for the Indian administrator?

While the storms of the post-Neronic upheaval were beating over the Roman world, and Rome itself was all but in the hands of barbarians, the Gaulish chieftains, assembled in solemn conclave, deliberately decided to remain faithful to their quondam conquerors.

In one respect there was a great difference, as compared with both Greece and India, which largely facilitated the task of the Romans. No city state, no institutions deriving force and sanctity from an almost limitless past, raised a dividing wall which kept the Gauls from full appreciation of Roman civilization. But in other respects the parallel is not only close, but startling.

It was, perhaps, largely the work of one man. The eagerness with which the Gaulish chieftains welcomed admission into the Julian clan shows what her great

soldier statesman was to Gaul—what, we may almost say, he was to the embryonic European state system—to modern France. Does not this illustrate the enormous importance of selecting the right man for high office in India?

Julius Cæsar seems to have been qualified to deal with the Celtic character as no other man before or since. The Gauls had the most passionate admiration for his attractive personality (in which were judiciously blended sternness and sympathy), his mighty genius, and (must we add?) his uniform success.

Great scions of the Imperial Family continued the work of Julius at Lyons, the "Calcutta of Gaul," substituted for the original native capital of Vienna, when that city revolted on hearing of the tragedy of the Ides of March. Gaulish soldiers had helped to conquer the Roman world for their hero, and they, at least, would not pass by the crime or blunder of the so-called liberators without effective protest. How close a parallel we have here with the history of the Punjaub! The Sikhs, newly conquered themselves, helped us to hold the Empire which we had endangered more than anything else, perhaps, by preserving the insignia of the old dynasty at Delhi.

The whole subject is pregnant with lessons, among which may be instanced that one so efficiently pointed out by Mr. Mitra in his remarkable article in the *Nineteenth Century* for last July—viz., the danger of exaggerating the cleavage between the rival faiths of India as a factor in the political situation.

We may finish our review by a glance at events in the new capital which the Romans so astutely substituted for Cæsar's Vienna. Drusus and Germanicus were worthy successors to Julius, and there was born Gaul's Imperial champion, Claudius, who was ridiculed at Rome for his Gaulish proclivities, and who reversed the policy of the cautious Augustus, and conferred citizenship broadcast on the province.

This policy completed the Romanization of Gaul, and loyalty was fostered by a light taxation, preserving the old

Gallic institutions as far as possible, and identifying the province with the Empire.

When the Roman ship of state was almost engulfed in the storms of the third century, a miniature Roman Empire grew up on Gallic soil.

Though it is unnecessary to draw attention to the lessons we may derive from the Roman treatment of Gaul, it may be well in conclusion to recapitulate what we seem to have learnt as a whole. The ideas derived from the semi-mythical history of China, the selection of rulers and their probationary appointment to high offices of State before their final recognition, do not seem to fall within the sphere of practical politics, though they may be commended to the attention of that philosopher of administration for whose appearance we are all anxiously waiting.

Somewhat similar remarks apply to the theory of statecraft which might be derived from a study of the Egyptian and Assyrian feudalism. From the centralized monarchies, or rather from that of Alexander the Great, we do obtain a most important lesson, confirmed by the teachings of medieval and modern history, concerning the importance of municipalities as affecting the growth of nations.

When we come to the absorption by Rome of Alexander's hellenized world, we are in contact with a whole crop of ideas applicable not only to the administration of India but to the task of the statesman all over the world. In utilizing these ideas for the solution of Indian problems we seem conscious of a universality which should give us courage in surrendering conventions which, however time-honoured they may be, may often amount to prejudice. The first "lesson" from the Roman Government of Greece is the absolute necessity for a thorough knowledge of the language and institutions of a people in those called upon to govern it. A reform\* in the internal administration of India which

\* A somewhat similar proposal was made by myself in a novel which I suppressed for political reasons, but which has since been published owing to a misapprehension of my instructions. I do not think it will do much harm now!

has been suggested by a recent writer on the subject would bring about the desired result, and at the same time compass a number of other objects of importance. This reform is the decentralization of Indian administration by parcelling out the country into a number of chief commissionerships. The desirable results which might be expected to flow from this measure are as follows :

1. A *corps d'élite* for the highest administrative appointments in India would naturally grow up, which would attract all the best talent of England.

2. The Indian people would come into contact, at least in the higher grades of the service, with only the best class of Europeans.

3. The persons selected for the above appointments might make India their home, but would always have one or more "understudies," trained personally by themselves, with whom they could safely leave their charges when on a visit to England.

4. Among the advantages which such a continuity of administration would entail the principal one would be the satisfactory selection of persons really fitted to be members of an Imperial Council of Notables.

5. From consultation with such a council all other needful reforms in Indian administration could be ascertained and put into practice.

Notwithstanding the somewhat optimistic conclusions reached above, I should like to close this paper by a few remarks on the "lessons from Gaul," in which country the Roman administration gives the closest parallel with that of British India. In the first place, the Gaulish chieftains recognized what I fear the leaders of the "forward" party in India do not sufficiently recognize, how much they needed the Imperial protection, how much more military glory they could gain in the Imperial armies than in their own petty intertribal wars. For Gaul the one great enemy was Germany, but India is a rich prey which would invite marauders from all parts of the world. One of the most difficult of all our

problems is how to identify the military chivalry of India with the Empire, by giving it a career which may attract it, as service with the Rhenish Legions did the warriors of the new Roman province. Another speciality about the Roman treatment of Gaul was the way in which national institutions (always excepting Druidism and the discredited kingship) were encouraged, and official interference reduced to a minimum. This policy undoubtedly tended to the contentment of the province, and we could do a great deal towards a similar result in India almost by a stroke of the pen. We could minimize the pernicious interference of the venal subordinate in the villages by reviving the Panchayet system.

I have already referred to the Council of Notables who had charge of the Augustan cult in Gaul. It was a veritable Advisory Board, and in this capacity exercised a double function. Not only did it represent the grievances of the people, it was the official recipient of orders from Rome, and a medium of communication between rulers and ruled of an invaluable efficacy.

It is amusing to see this institution characterized as a new idea. Were it not that it is at least 2,000 years old, I might remark that I myself advocated its introduction in a published work at least thirty years ago.

Another institution which did much to accomplish the speedy absorption of Gaul in the Empire was the conferring of Roman citizenship.

It might be possible for our reformers to think out a system of bestowing a kind of *jus civitatis* on all Indians who had proved themselves worthy of the boon.

The situation in India is so difficult and delicate that one is tempted sometimes to think that the avoidance of injudicious action is almost more important than the adoption of any positive measures. Whatever we do we should always remember that we have to consider two sections of the community whose interests are not always identical—the educated Indian and the illiterate masses.



The only solution of the difficulty is suggested by the single word "compromise." It has an ugly sound, but is considered by many to be almost synonymous with statesmanship.

Perhaps I may be permitted to suggest a new definition of compromise—ability to see things from opposite points of view. If it was always advisable for Europeans and Asiatics to try and see things from each other's points of view, it is more than ever so at the present juncture. In a noble and statesmanlike speech the present Viceroy has proclaimed that sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of Indians is to be the keynote of British policy. But something more than this is required; we want more of that keen insight which will tell us that certain concomitants of our civilization which seem desirable and indispensable to us may be absolutely abhorrent to the Indian mind.

Perhaps we might say, *en revanche*, that the Indian should see that it is impossible for us to approach the questions awaiting solution from any but the Imperial point of view, and admit that some of us, at least, do so because we sincerely believe this to be the best for Indian interests. May we not add, too, that the point of view of the ignorant masses should receive attention?

Working together on these lines, we may not move fast enough for the impatient idealist, but there is no problem of Indian statesmanship which should prove too difficult for us to solve.

## THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION.\*

BY H. F. B. LYNCH, M.P.

I DO not rise in this debate under any sense of pleasure in the task which lies before me of criticizing a Government with whose general aims in the various spheres of their policy I find myself in whole-hearted sympathy. It has been truly said by a newspaper which is stalwart in its support of the present Administration—I mean the *Westminster Gazette*—that one of the greatest assets of the Government with the public at large has been the belief that they can be trusted as implicitly as any Government that has recently held office to guard the interests of Imperial policy. Certainly, in my own constituency we have constantly laid stress upon this side of the duties of a Liberal Government; and we have resented with warmth the imputation that it forms any part of the Liberal creed to belittle the consequence to a country situated like our own of those great oversea interests which successive generations have built up, and upon which depend the numbers of our population, the aggregate of our national wealth, and the outlets for the energies—the beneficent energies—of our countrymen. But Liberalism has another and a not less important side. Wherever a people are struggling to be free—or, in other words, are engaged in the struggle after self-realization—they have always felt that England, and especially the party to which I have the honour to belong, takes their part, and will, if possible, back up her sympathy in a practical way. The question of British interests, as they may be affected by this Convention, has been discussed in a most lucid and illuminating manner during the recent debate in another place; but,

\* The following is the speech of which Mr. Lynch was only able to deliver the first part during the debate in the House of Commons on February 14, owing to the lateness of the hour and the desire of the leader of the Opposition and the Indian Secretary to address the House.

though I listened to most of the speeches, I think very little reference was made to the probable effect of this Convention upon the destinies of the smaller nations which form the *corpus vile* of its experiments and dispositions. How, especially, will it affect Persia, and what do the Persians think of it—not the grandees and the reactionaries, who may have profited by Anglo-Russian rivalry, but the leaders of the reform movement, and the men who are engaged in pouring new wine into the musty old bottles of Persian absolutism? This aspect of the Convention is a Liberal interest, and I think I shall be able to show that it is also a British interest, perhaps the greatest of the British interests which are touched by the Convention. The question, then, which we have to consider has two sides: Does the Convention benefit, or is it likely to prejudice, our own direct interests, political and commercial, in the countries of Asia to which it refers? And is it framed in the true interests of those countries?

My claim, and perhaps my duty, to assist the House in finding answers to questions such as these arises out of the fact that I have myself travelled extensively in Persia and the adjacent countries; that I come of a family which, some as servants of the Crown, and others as private citizens, long resident in the East, have laboured, each in his sphere, for three generations to build up the British position in Western Asia; and that, as the latest and humblest of these, I have devoted the greater part of my working life to the task which they have handed down to me, and which keeps me in daily touch with Asiatic affairs. Perhaps the House will allow me to state quite frankly the nature of my private interests in these countries. They consist in the possession of internal communications—steamers on the great rivers, and roads from the terminal stations on those rivers to the cities of the interior. I have no share, or none worth mentioning, in the export trade of this country with the East, which has passed, by a natural process of evolution in which I rejoice, very largely into the hands of native merchants,

who come over here and reside in Manchester and our great manufacturing centres, where they purchase goods and consign them to their relatives in the East. If, as a result of this Convention, the export trade of Great Britain and India with Persia—which amounts to upwards of £2,000,000 a year, and which is capable of indefinite expansion in the future—should undergo a considerable shrinkage in favour of Russian trade, I suppose that these native merchants would migrate to Russia, and that Russian instead of British trade would flow over the communications of which I have spoken, and which, though they have been specially designed to subserve British commerce, are main arteries of traffic, and therefore of importance to any other Power. Of the three roads which my friends and myself have constructed in Persia, covering hundreds of miles, the two right hon. gentlemen in front of me have placed two—those from Kum to Tehran, with right of extension to Isfahan, and from Kum to Sultanabad—bodily in the Russian sphere; while, as regards the third, the road across the Bakhtiari Mountains from Ahwaz on the Karun River to Isfahan, they have treated Isfahan, the terminus of the road, in the same way. Any further facilities on these arteries of traffic we shall, I presume, be obliged to obtain through the Russian Government or with their consent. I hope I may be wrong, but I greatly fear that the tendency will be for these enterprises, so laboriously built up by Englishmen, to subserve Russian rather than British trade. That will be a bad day for the manufactures and products of this country and of India. I heard the Under-Secretary remark the other day that the directors of the Imperial Bank of Persia had signified to him their approval of this Convention. From the point of view of finance they may be right. Possibly I might be able to maintain the same opinion as regards my own pecuniary interests—they are safeguarded, no doubt. But that is not precisely the spirit in which my friends and myself have worked. Personally, I have not touched a single farthing, whether in the shape of fees or

dividends, or in any other shape, in connexion with these enterprises in Persia. At the instance of the Foreign Office, I arranged at the outset that all the revenues of the principal road—a road of 270 miles across the Bakhtiari Mountains to Isfahan—should be collected, and should be enjoyed by the chiefs ruling over the country. These revenues are already very considerable, as the commerce over this new trade-route has trebled itself since the year 1903, by which time traffic upon the road had already become established.\* The goods carried are mainly of British and Indian origin, none Russian. I can honestly assure the House that, had I thought that a Convention of this nature could ever receive the signature of British Ministers, that trade-route would never have been built.

There is one preliminary topic which I do not think should be passed over in silence. It is the secrecy with which this Convention was concluded. Let it be remembered that the Persian part of it affects in a vital manner British private enterprises in Persia, which had been initiated with the support and at the instigation of the British Foreign Office. It arrests by a stroke of the pen the natural development of these enterprises, except through the agency of a foreign Power. Yet no opportunity was given either to the House or to the country of considering the justice, let alone the policy, of such a drastic measure—a measure which can scarcely fail to imprint a lesson, such as in these days we can ill afford to teach, upon the minds of the pioneers of British enterprise in other quarters of the world. Yet there was a

\* The new trade-route across the Bakhtiari Mountains, which I personally surveyed, and which was constructed under the direction of my relative, Mr. A. Taylor, without any financial assistance from Government, was opened to traffic in 1900. In 1901 100 tons of merchandise were carried over it. The figures for subsequent years have been: 1902, 546 tons; 1903, 410 tons; 1904, 750 tons; 1905, 878 tons; and 1906, 1,280 tons. The number of animals passing over the road in 1906 was 19,900. The amount received by the chiefs on account of tolls, which sometimes they have collected themselves and at others have farmed out, was in 1901 £1,500, and in 1907 £3,100.



precedent of recent date which the Government might well have followed before concluding this Convention. It will be within the recollection of Hon. Members who sat in the last Parliament that some years ago, when the right hon. gentleman the present leader of the Opposition was proposing to enter into a Convention with Germany in connexion with another great Asiatic subject—namely, the Baghdad Railway—he placed the House very frankly in possession of his views. The discussion that resulted both in the House and in the country deterred him from proceeding further in the matter on the terms which had been offered by Germany. Nobody has regretted his decision—his change of mind. In the present instance the case was even stronger for adopting a similar course, owing to the control given by the Anglo-Russian Convention to Russia over the development of existing British enterprises, as contrasted with the control which the Germans hoped to obtain over an enterprise which had not yet been commenced. Yet not only did the Government fail to follow this precedent, but the only hint which they vouchsafed to the House of the nature of the Convention was wholly incorrect and misleading. Answering for the Foreign Office last July, in reply to a question put by the Hon. Member for Leicester, the Hon. Member for Dewsbury spoke as follows: “The direct object of the negotiations is to prevent conflict and difficulties between the two Powers in the part of Asia which affects the Indian frontier and the Russian frontiers in that region. If the negotiations result in an agreement, it will only deal with those questions.” How Isfahan can be described, by the wildest flight of imagination, as a part of Asia affecting the Indian or the Russian frontier, I am quite unable to understand. And this leads me to ask, What experts have been consulted in drawing up the terms of this Convention? I should like to press that question. The Under-Secretary has stated—what is no doubt quite true—that there are officials at the India Office of unrivalled experience in these matters.

Did the members of the India Council having personal experience of the regions of Asia to which the Convention applies endorse its provisions, and especially those relating to Persia? Was the Defence Committee consulted, and did they approve even of those provisions which may be termed in the main strategical? Was our Resident in the Persian Gulf, whose domicile, Bushire, is the pivot of the British position in a part of Persia all-important to us, taken into council by the Government?

But the Under-Secretary went on to say that the Government had received the assistance of two distinguished diplomatists, both of them with Persian experience. Yes, but that experience was gained in Tehran, under the shadow of the Russian Empire, and both were subsequently Ambassadors to Russia. It is a regrettable fact that British Ministers to Persia seldom visit and never sojourn in the regions, hundreds of miles away from the capital, where our influence looms as large as that of Russia in the North. I can only think of two British Ministers who have even visited these regions for many a long year.

Well, whoever may have been its author, this Convention, prepared with so much secrecy, was signed only a few days after Parliament had risen; and during the month that elapsed before its actual terms were made known a favourable current of opinion was set in motion. Not only the Press in this country, but even students of Central Asian politics, like Professor Vambéry, of the University of Budapest—who can certainly not be suspected of Russophil tendencies—welcomed the termination of the ancient feud between England and Russia in the East.

Such was the state of opinion when the text of the Convention was at last published. The impression then produced may be accurately described as painful in certain quarters and disappointing in others. Those who had congratulated the Government upon having arrived at a settlement with Russia, and whose knowledge of Central Asian

affairs was more or less of a superficial character, were naturally loath to go back upon their previous encomiums, and to give full expression to their disappointment. Others, who were better informed, or whose approval had been less emphatic, changed the tone of their comments. Professor Vambéry himself forms the most notable instance of this altered attitude. He has written more than once since the Convention has seen the light, and his later view is embraced in one of his own phrases, to the effect that Great Britain has paid far too high a price for goods of doubtful value. As for the Press in India, especially that portion which summarizes opinion in the frontier regions, it has reflected a feeling almost of dismay at the arrangement to which we have become a party. I will not weary the House by quotations from such well-known and well-informed organs as the *Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette*; I will only say that my description of their comments does not err on the side of exaggeration. It is possible that their language may have been hasty. I venture to think that language equally strong would have been forthcoming from the British Press were it not for the high opinion in which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is held by his countrymen. It seems to me that the character of the right hon. gentleman and the confidence which he inspires is the principal argument in favour of the Convention. The situation may still not be irretrievable, because, as the Foreign Secretary has, I think, himself remarked, so much will depend upon the spirit in which the Convention is worked. It may be found possible to obviate some of its principal dangers without violating its provisions. In that direction lies the task before us.

But I return to the twofold question with which I started: How does the Convention affect direct British interests? and is it framed in the true interests of the smaller nations with which it deals? Out of this double thread I shall weave the remaining remarks which I venture to address to the House. Persia is by so much the most important

subject of the Convention that I shall not trespass upon the limits of the indulgence which may be meted out to me by commenting upon the articles concerning Afghanistan and Thibet, except to say this : In all these articles there is no equality of stipulation as between Great Britain and Russia. Can the right hon. gentleman show me anything which the Russian Government has conceded to us in Afghanistan and Thibet in return for the concessions so large-handed on our side, except the promise not to break existing promises—promises which Russia has officially given to us many times over ? On the other hand, this Convention rivets still closer upon the neck of the Thibetans the distasteful and wholly unsatisfactory suzerainty of China, and it creates a sphere of British influence along the western frontier of Afghanistan which is admittedly of a strategic nature, and which, therefore, may be scarcely calculated to enlist the goodwill of the Amir.

Coming to Persia, I think it is impossible to judge this Convention without inquiring how far it follows or contradicts the principles upon which our policy towards that country has hitherto been based. What are those principles, and what have been the springs of British policy in relation to Persia ? A distance of 2,000 miles separates the western frontier of our Indian Empire from the seaboard of the Mediterranean and the confines of Europe. That space is occupied by a series of tablelands, having an average elevation on the plains of from 3,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea, which may be collectively described as the natural bridge between Europe and India. This bridge is at present held by native Governments of varying resources and powers of resistance—Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey. In relation to ourselves these States have hitherto served the immensely useful purpose of buffers against the extension towards India of the great military Powers of Europe. Their existence has enabled us to hold India with comparatively a handful of men. It will be within the recollection of the House that towards the close of the last



Russo-Turkish War we went so far as to threaten war upon Russia in order to prevent the Russian occupation of Armenia. Russia was compelled to withdraw behind the barrier of the Ararat system, and to remove her troops from a position where they would constitute a standing menace to Asia Minor on the west and Persia on the east. But our difficulty has always lain in the task of keeping these States in being, in preventing them from succumbing to the disintegrating influence of more or less systematic misrule. From this point of view Persia on the whole presented the most difficult problem—a problem which grew in complexity as the power of the Shahs became less secure and more at the mercy of foreign influences. On the other hand, we could ill afford to be indifferent to the fate of Persia, since her territory extends from the Russian frontier on the northern side of the series of tablelands to the Gulf and to the very threshold of our Indian possessions. The decision of the British Government in 1902\* not to lend money to the Persian Government was followed by Russian financial and political predominance in Persia, and it had become apparent that Russia was well on the road to absorbing Persia, when, by a sudden turn of the wheel of Fortune, circumstances unexpectedly changed. Two things happened: the Japanese War exhausted the resources and broke the prestige of Russia, while the example of Japan fired the imagination of all Eastern peoples, and inspired the reform movement in Persia. A peaceful revolution took place in that country. It was largely due to ourselves that it was peaceful. Thousands of refugees from the displeasure of the Shah's Government took shelter in our Legation at Tehran and at our Consulate in Isfahan, and were there protected and saved from starvation or death. A Parliament was called together, which is still the focus of the reform movement. I have taken some trouble to inquire into the seriousness of that movement.

\* See Sir Michael Hicks Beach's speech at Bristol in the *Times* of September 30, 1902.



The information which I receive is almost uniformly encouraging. Well, the evolution of the Persian State from a corrupt and despotic form of government to conditions more in harmony with the needs of the people was proceeding apace. We could even contemplate the time when Persia might be restored to some measure of strength, and might thus fulfil in a manner more adequate than at any period of her more recent history the ideals of British policy in that country. Such being the situation, this Convention was signed.

What does it do, and how has it been received in Persia? It divides the whole of Persia into three spheres, two of which are described by the Foreign Secretary as regions of British and Russian influence, and the third, lying in between, is a neutral sphere. It contains provisions for the application and treatment of those Customs revenues which have been hypothecated to foreign loans. It is true that it is stated in the preamble that the integrity and independence of Persia are to be respected; but the Persians point out that a similar formula was used in connexion both with Egypt and Morocco. Can we wonder that the Persian people are filled with indignation at the conclusion of such a Convention, to which, however, their consent has been deemed superfluous? There are at present no less than ninety newspapers in Persia, of which forty-five are localized in the capital. Let me quote the following sentence from the principal daily paper, the *Hablu'l-Matin*: "Although the ostensible purpose of this treaty is to preserve the independence of Persia . . . yet those versed in political subtleties are well aware that wherever one of the Powers has acquired influence, it has done so under cover of just such specious and plausible words. If these two Powers really desired the continuance of Persia's sovereignty, there would have been no need for such a treaty." This is a mild extract from the series of articles in which this newspaper has examined and denounced the Convention. In the same sense a well-informed Persian writes to my friend Professor Browne of Cambridge: "This action of England

has alienated from her the good opinion and sympathy of all Persians. . . . What the political object of England can be in making for the sake of Russia this great act of renunciation in Persia only Sir Edward Grey knows; it passes our comprehension. Its immediate effect in Persia is, however, the complete destruction of the friendship which the Persians have entertained for the English." I think it may be safely said that such opinions are shared by nine-tenths of educated Persians.

Let the House endeavour to realize what this Convention means to the Persians. Just at present they are in the throes of a domestic revolution. Their two most powerful neighbours choose that particular moment to enter into an agreement over their heads relating to their native land. There are the usual diplomatic phrases about the integrity and independence of the country; then the object of the Convention is explained. It is described as a desire primarily to maintain peace and order in those parts of Persia which adjoin or are in the neighbourhood of the respective frontiers of the two Powers, and, in the next place, to avoid a conflict of interests in such regions. This sounds innocent enough, especially the first object, which reads like an exchange of views between the two Powers as to the precautionary measures to be taken in case of disturbances in the frontier regions. But we are only at the preamble. We read on. The parts of Persia adjoining or in the neighbourhood of the Russian frontier are found to include not only the capital, Tehran—almost as far away from the nearest Russian frontier as Paris is distant from London—but also the second Persian city, and more ancient capital, Isfahan, in the very middle of the country, doubly remote from the Russian frontier, and only adjoining or in the neighbourhood of Russian territory in the same sense as Lyons might be described as adjoining the English Channel. How, the Persians may well ask, can the maintenance of peace and order in the Russian frontier regions be reconciled with a provision which includes

Central Persia? and in what sense would the independence of their country be respected if the Russians were to maintain order at Isfahan? The thing sounds so preposterous that they can only draw one conclusion—impending partition of their country. That is the first impression. But as they examine the text more closely the other party to this division recedes ever farther from view. There is the Russian sphere, immensely extended beyond the reach of Russian influence; and beyond this area, in the regions where British trade is at present supreme, and where the Persian Government has for many years been particularly weak, a neutral sphere is created, in which nobody is to maintain peace and order, England taking as her sphere the extreme south-eastern corner of the country, for the most part waterless desert. This does not spell partition so much as absorption—absorption of Persia by Russia. They do not fail to note that all the centres of the reform movement are included in the Russian sphere. That is not exactly consoling to the reformers. Meanwhile another neighbour, Turkey, has massed 25,000 men on their western border, and has already violated their territory. Their treasury is empty; they have neither fleet nor army, being in these respects apt pupils of the most advanced school of Western thought. Such being the situation, they are bidden to work out their own salvation, every one among their neighbours professing sincere anxiety to maintain their independence. No doubt they feel reassured!

Now, one would have thought that, if there was a moment above all others when it was unwise even to discuss the idea of spheres of influence, such a moment was while Persia was in this critical condition. It is a matter of common knowledge that views have been exchanged in the past between England and Russia as to the possibility of concluding an arrangement for the purpose of preventing any conflict between their interests in Persia. At a happier time in the fortunes of the country it might have been expedient to take these proposals out of their

pigeon-holes and resume discussion of them—a discussion to which the Persian Government could have been a party. But, at a time when what is practically a revolution is in progress, to place nearly half Persia, including the capital and all the centres of the reform movement, in a sphere where, in the words of the preamble, Russia is to have a special interest in maintaining law and order, is tantamount to handing over the Persian reform movement to the tender mercies of a highly organized foreign despotism. No! If both parties were sincere in their desire to maintain the independence of Persia and to enable her to weather the storm, a far simpler agreement could have been arrived at, amply sufficient to meet the case that has arisen, and which, moreover, would not be capable of misconstruction by the Persian people—if, indeed, they do misconstrue this Convention, and are worse judges of its ultimate results than the right hon. gentleman. Such an agreement would have followed the lines of existing precedent, under which successive rulers of Persia have ascended the throne. England and Russia, as the two most interested Powers, have in each case that has occurred within recent years agreed together as to the succession, and have taken any necessary steps to secure that it should be peaceful. They have agreed together to maintain the independence and integrity of Persia, Russia having given pledges to this effect no less than five times within the last seventy years. In the present case it had become obvious that changes in the government had become necessary. This was admitted as much by Russia as by ourselves. Under these circumstances all that was incumbent upon the two Powers from the point of view of prudence was to submit themselves to a self-denying ordinance for a certain period of years in respect of seeking any concessions for their subjects. They would further have agreed to confer together as to any steps which it might be necessary to take for the purpose of protecting their subjects resident in Persia, or of maintaining order in the frontier regions.

Lastly, they would have decided upon the form to be taken by their joint action in Constantinople in order to secure the frontier of Persia on the side of Turkey. Such an agreement—simple, adequate, and sufficiently complete—would have given the Persians a chance.

I come now to the probable effect of the Convention upon British direct interests in Persia. Here I shall be brief, as this ground has been travelled over by all the speakers both here and in another place. I listened in vain to the speech which the Foreign Secretary delivered this afternoon in order to discover upon what principle the lines delimiting the three spheres have been drawn. If you look at the preamble, and the covering letter from the Foreign Secretary to our Ambassador in St. Petersburg, the Convention would seem to be limited, as I have already pointed out, to the provinces of Persia adjoining or in the neighbourhood of the respective frontiers of Great Britain and Russia—in the case of Great Britain the frontier being defined as that of Afghanistan and British Baluchistan. But the Russian frontier, even if you include the Persian shore of the Caspian as a Russian frontier, adjoins four Persian provinces, and four only—namely, Azerbaijan, Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Khorassan. But the Russian sphere as delimited in the Convention includes an area twice as large as this, extending to the southern side of the Great Salt Desert, and including Kermanshah, Isfahan, and even Yezd—cities 400 miles away from the nearest Russian frontier. On the other hand, the British sphere does not even include the provinces described in the preamble. These provinces are part of Khorassan, and the provinces of Kain, Seistan, and Kirman; and only parts of these provinces are placed in the British sphere. Two hundred miles of Persian territory adjoining the Afghan frontier are left outside our sphere, and these are the regions on the side of Herat where British officers have been engaged, and may be engaged again, in delimiting the Perso-Afghan frontier.



The Foreign Secretary told us this afternoon that the line delimiting the British sphere is mainly and primarily a strategical line. He laid great emphasis—an altogether disproportionate stress, I thought—upon the strategic importance of Seistan; and he went on to say that not only had we secured Seistan, but had also kept Russia beyond striking distance of that region. Now, I should be surprised to learn that any of the plans for regulating the respective interests of England and Russia in Persia which the Foreign Secretary may have in his pigeon-holes can have omitted Seistan from the regions where we have a special interest. All that the right hon. gentleman can claim, therefore, for his plan, as opposed to those previous proposals, is that by interposing a zone of neutral ground he has possibly—I should not say certainly—kept Russia at a greater distance from Seistan than may have been contemplated in those former proposals. But I fail to see much advantage in this. The importance of Seistan consists not in what that region at present is, but in what it is capable of becoming. At present it is a sandy desert, inhabited mainly by insects, which you consume in considerable quantities even if you eat your dinner without a light. In summer the thermometer registers over 100 degrees in the shade, and for four months in the year the wind blows incessantly, sometimes reaching a velocity of seventy miles an hour, and driving before it clouds of sand, which undermine the stoutest buildings. The British exploring expedition to Seistan two or three years ago lost fifty men and 4,900 camels during its sojourn in this inhospitable district. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Seistan could be reclaimed and made fertile by any Power which might think it worth while to spend the necessary sums of money on extensive works of irrigation from the Helmund River. It might thus become the granary of this part of Persia, and therefore most valuable as an advanced military base to a Power having designs upon India. But so long as you keep Seistan, with the

outlets of the Helmund, out of the Russian sphere, you are sufficiently guarded against this danger; and, as the presumption is that for strategical reasons we shall certainly avoid irrigating the district, there can be no fear of a *coup de main* on the part of Russia in that direction.

So much for Seistan. I have shown that at its upper or northern extremity the British line omits the approaches to Herat on the side of Persia. I can scarcely take seriously the explanation of the Foreign Secretary that, Russia having already one door to Herat, it does not matter that she should have two. But the lower or southern end of the British line is open to not less serious criticisms of a strategical nature. The object evidently has been to secure the entrance to the Persian Gulf; but Bunder Abbas, to which the line is drawn, would be of little use for this purpose, on account of the shallowness of the water at that port. The key of the Gulf from this point of view are the islands of Larak, Henjam, and Kishm, extending westward of Bunder Abbas; and if the line had been taken a little further west, as far as the port of Lingah, a fruitful cause of diplomatic differences in the future might have been removed.

As a strategical frontier, I think the British line has been badly drawn both at its upper and lower extremities. I do not wish to suggest that, for the purpose of arriving at an agreement with Russia regulating our respective interests in Persia, it was essential that our sphere should cover the whole of the Afghan frontier. I question the whole policy of drawing a strategical line in these regions, and I am persuaded that all that was essential for our purpose was that Seistan should be included in our sphere. For the purpose of an agreement such as this Convention embodies, far wider considerations should have been borne in mind. And this leads me to express my surprise at the nature of the defence made by the Foreign Secretary for excluding the Persian Gulf from the Convention. The Persian Gulf forms the base and pivot of the whole British position in

Persia. The Foreign Secretary justified this omission by stating—what is no doubt true—that the western shore of the Gulf is not in Persian territory ; but that does not answer the point, which I think has already been made, that any agreement with Russia concerning Persia should certainly have included the Persian shore within the British sphere. Surely, if it be your desire—and the Foreign Secretary has stated that he does so desire—to strengthen the British position in the Gulf, you are scarcely going the right way towards arriving at that result by placing the Persian shore in a kind of no-man's-land ; nor are you thereby strengthening the hands of the British Resident in the Gulf, whose domicile at Bushire lies on the Persian littoral. Moreover, since this Convention has placed within the Russian sphere the cities of Persia which would form the terminals of any future railways from the Gulf, it is only reasonable to suppose that such railways will be built by Russia rather than by Great Britain. I cannot see, therefore, how the Foreign Secretary can legitimately argue in another part of his speech that we have cut off Russia from the waters of the Persian Gulf. I fear we have done nothing of the kind.

From the commercial point of view this Convention is so unsatisfactory that it is scarcely possible to speak of this aspect of its provisions in balanced and moderate terms. The right hon. gentleman treated this portion of his speech in a vein which seemed to betray that he had come under some hypnotic influence emanating from the Russian position in the North of Persia. He pointed to the number of Russian Consuls in Persia, to the three Russian roads in the direction of Tehran and Meshed, to the line of subsidized steamers running to the Persian Gulf. I should be sorry to have to state offhand whether Great Britain or Russia has the greater number of Consuls in Persia. If Russia has three roads in Persia, we also have three, extending right up to the capital. As for the Russian subsidized steamers to the Gulf, they make about six trips

a year, while the British subsidized steamers have a weekly service. It is quite true that the Russian Government have during recent years been spending vast sums of money on improving their communications in Persia, whereas the British Government, relying in the main upon British private enterprise, have expended amounts which are relatively quite insignificant. It is also correct to say that Russia had obtained considerable control over the Persian Government by means of loans. But these loans were offered to this country, Persia giving as security the Customs duties at the Persian Gulf ports, which lie under the very noses of our ships. It was open to this country to borrow money at 3 per cent., and obtain interest at 6 per cent. from the Persian Government on as good security as could anywhere be obtained. But these factors were merely the result of a more far-sighted policy on the part of Russia; and the situation was not, and still is not, irretrievable in any of these respects. When the right hon. gentleman went on to state that, as regards our commercial position, we had surrendered nothing by this Convention that was not already gone before, I must beg leave to join direct issue with him, and I appeal to solid facts to bear out a contrary contention. I noted that the right hon. gentleman did not base this part of his argument on the supposition that it was no sacrifice on our part to place British trade-routes in the Russian sphere, though in another part of his speech he certainly did deprecate the conclusion that this sphere would constitute a wall against our trade. He admitted the sacrifice, but he endeavoured to minimize its importance, and to justify it on the ground that it had in fact already been made, and that we were therefore, only wiping off a bad debt. Now, what are the facts? The right hon. gentleman singled out the Khanikin trade-route, and I should like to follow him on to that ground. He said that it was not specially a British trade-route, and that it was also an outlet from Persia into Mesopotamia. But surely it is especially a British route,

and it is not an outlet of any importance from Persia. The exports from Persia by this route do not amount to a value of £200,000 a year, while the imports are nearly £1,000,000, in which countries outside the British Empire do not share to the extent of more than £200,000. Moreover, this route would not be in existence—at all events, as a main artery of traffic with foreign countries—had it not been for the efforts of British and Indian enterprise, extending for nearly a century, which have established a weekly steamship communication between the terminus of the route at Baghdad and the manufacturing centres of Great Britain and India. What is the Russian trade by this route? So far as I have been able to ascertain, it does not amount to more than a few thousand pounds a year. After hearing the Foreign Secretary, I am still as unable as I was before to discover what claim Russia can bring to the control of this trade-route; and if the right hon. gentleman contends that Russia must have an outlet somewhere, my answer would be his answer to corresponding arguments on our side—namely, that the inclusion of this route, or, at all events, the lower and important part of it, within the British sphere would not have constituted a barrier to any trade which Russia may have in the future in these regions—regions where such trade scarcely exists at the present day. Besides the Khanikin route—the greatest of all our routes—which this Convention places from end to end in the Russian sphere, there are four great avenues of British trade with Persia. Of these, only the last in importance—that from Bunder Abbas to Kirman—has been placed in the British sphere. Of the remaining three, one is covered from end to end by the Russian sphere, while the other two cross the neutral territory or no-man's-land to a terminus which is also included in the Russian sphere. On the other hand, all the important Russian trade-routes are situated within the limits of her own sphere. That is a curious kind of bargain from a commercial point of view, and I venture to think that its consequences may become



more serious than the Foreign Secretary seems to suppose. It is perfectly true that this country never erects barriers against the trade of other countries ; it is against the whole spirit of our commercial policy. On the other hand, Russian commercial policy has always adopted in every quarter of the world an exactly opposite principle. Even the Persian tariff has been manipulated by Russia within recent years—unfortunately, with the consent of His Majesty's Government—in such a way that high duties are put upon goods mainly of British trade, and low duties on those mainly of Russian trade. The Foreign Secretary foresees the day when Russia may desire to build a railway along the Khanikin trade-route to Baghdad. Does he suppose for one moment that, if Russia is to control the line, equal treatment would be meted out to British goods ? The Russians foster their exports to such countries as Persia, especially those in which they have railways, by means of the zone system. The railways being the property of the State, the State, in order to encourage exports, fixes the rates of carriage proportionately lower according as the distance the goods are carried is greater. How could British goods, to be conveyed by a future private railway from the Gulf to Baghdad—that is the supposition—compete under such a system with Russian goods in the markets of Persia ? Even if this disadvantage could be got over, there would remain all those obstructions in matters of detail which, in Russian hands and in their cumulative effect, have been fatal to our trade elsewhere. I confess that I do not share the optimism of the Foreign Secretary as regards the future of British trade in the Russian sphere.

I claim to have shown that this Convention does not recognize existing facts ; that it does not—to adopt a metaphor from photography which has been used by one of its supporters—fix a picture which has already been developed. It does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, it fixes the Russian side of the picture, immensely enlarges

it at the expense of existing British interests, and leaves the remnant in a condition of blur. This is surely not due, as the Foreign Secretary stated, to abstention on our part from a forward policy. He condemned the forward policy. But he admitted that his predecessors did not embark on a forward policy in Persia. How did his predecessors enunciate their policy? It was clearly expressed in a speech by the Under-Secretary in the late Government in 1902, when he said: "It would be impossible for us, whatever the cause, to abandon what we look upon as our rightful position in Persia. Especially is that true in regard to the Persian Gulf, as I had the honour to state to the House a few days ago. It is true not only of the Persian Gulf, but of the southern provinces of Persia, and those provinces which border on our Indian Empire. Our rights there and our position of ascendancy we cannot abandon." In the same debate the present Foreign Secretary made use of the following language: "We ought to consolidate our influence by the extension of our trade interests, and these, after all, become a great vested right. If we allow our trade in Southern Persia to dwindle, and take no practical steps to acquire new political rights, we may be sure that the interests of other Powers will be growing and our position deteriorating." Since those words were spoken our trade with Persia has not dwindled, or at all events has not diminished to any considerable extent, though it is true that Russian trade in the northern regions has made far greater strides than ours in the south. There has been no question of embarking on a forward policy, except in the sense enunciated by the Foreign Secretary himself in 1902—namely, of consolidating and promoting our own vested interests. This Convention forms a curious commentary upon these declarations. The vested rights of which the right hon. gentleman spoke in 1902 had apparently become by 1907 "mere trading possibilities," to use his own later phrase. But our trade with Persia is computed to amount to £3,500,000 a year; and if it should undergo

a considerable shrinkage in future years, it will, at all events, be easy to discover the cause of its decline.

But the principal danger which I apprehend from this Convention lies in the invitation which, it seems to me, it extends to Russia to absorb the greater part of Persia, and thus to break through the series of barriers offered by the existence of the buffer States against her extension southwards and eastwards. In this way she would become our next-door neighbour in Asia on a long line of vulnerable frontier. I hope the House realizes the bearing of such a situation upon the military resources of this country and India. If this danger can be averted by the diplomacy of the right hon. gentleman and his successors, this Convention may be judged by history in a more favourable light. It is such absorption of Persia, and the building of railways under Russian control to link up the great Persian centres and debouch upon the Gulf, that this country and India have to fear far more than the chimerical railway along the borders of Seistan to the port of Bunder Abbas. Let us hope that this Convention may lead to better relations with Russia, and that she may realize and respect the substantial grounds for our fears. I am afraid that it can scarcely tend to improve our relations with Persia. Persia is the ghost at the feast which we are celebrating with Russia in honour of this Convention. While the feasting is in progress and the toasts are being exchanged, this small nation—which has contributed so much to the artistic and intellectual wealth of the world, and whose prospects looked at least promising before this Convention was signed—is lying between life and death, parcelled out, almost dismembered, helpless and friendless at our feet.

## THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

THE Overseas League was founded in the year 1907 with a view to promote British trade, and to voice, and endeavour to rectify, legitimate grievances of British subjects overseas. The following is a brief statement of the work which it has already accomplished :

### MOROCCO.

The most important and pressing subject has been the position of British merchants trading with, and in, Morocco. A public meeting was summoned under the auspices of the League, and took place on October 3, 1907, at Caxton Hall. Resolutions were carried unanimously urging H.M. Government to support the claims of British subjects and their Moorish employees for losses sustained through the bombardment of Casablanca, and to consider what steps should be taken in the interests of British shippers who have sustained heavy loss through non-payment for goods supplied.

On October 24 the Morocco Committee decided that a letter should be sent in the name of the League, asking for an advance to the poorer British subjects at Casablanca, and also for an advance of money to repair the church, which was looted and seriously damaged during the bombardment.

The League urged the inclusion of indirect claims for compensation for consideration by the International Commission.

The League have communicated with the Postmaster-General, Sir Edward Grey, and the British Chamber of Commerce, in regard to postal rates to and from Morocco, and have requested that penny postage may be established, as has been done by France, Germany, and Spain.

Largely as a result of representations by the League, a local Commission has been appointed at Casablanca to make preliminary investigation of British claims, prior to their being submitted to the proposed International Commission.

At a recent public meeting of the League held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Mr. S. L. Bensusan, chairman, said: "I desire to say very little of the general condition of Moorish affairs, because the complications of that position seem to change from hour to hour, and it is not easy when one is more than a thousand miles away from the country to speak with judgment, or accuracy, of the way in which its problems are being handled by the men on the spot.

"For years there was a very keen rivalry between Great Britain and France for influence in Morocco, and for very many years this country held its own, while our trade increased by leaps and bounds, until at last it was more than the trade of all the other European countries put together. For a little while after King Edward's accession it was the policy of this country to support Morocco against all outside interference; then the Anglo-French Declaration changed that policy, and Morocco was practically surrendered to France in return for certain undertakings. These have now to be safeguarded, and in saying as much, one does not accuse France of breach of faith, or of a desire to break her covenants. But circumstances are often stronger than men, and the developments that have arisen in Morocco since France was forced at the point of the sword to the Conference at Algenciras are so far-reaching, and so widespread, that when tranquillity is restored, the French Government may hold that those who have faced the heat of action are alone entitled to the spoils. There are many ways in which promises that the Anglo-French Declaration sets out may be kept in the letter and broken in the spirit, and it is against these possibilities that British commerce must protect itself. Such protection is possible if the representatives of our Moroccan trade will



present a united front. If they hesitate to do so, then our Foreign Office may be trusted to disregard them altogether, and to deal with our commercial interests in Morocco as our strategic interests have been dealt with—that is to say, to regard them as something that may be given away in exchange for advantages to be received elsewhere. The open door in Morocco must be preserved, or the fruits of labours that have extended throughout several generations will be lost to British commerce at the very moment when they are ripening for the first time in its history.”

Mr. A. G. Wise, Secretary to the League, said : “ I do not think people here realize the magnitude of our trade with Morocco. The total British trade with that Empire amounts to no less than two million pounds sterling, the share of Manchester being about three-quarters of a million. These figures could be greatly increased if more strenuous endeavours were made by our merchants, manufacturers, and others to improve the position of British trade. Since other countries are making every exertion to push their trade and industries in Morocco, it behoves our Government to make similar efforts. In this connexion, I may quote from a letter received from a member of the League : ‘ I wish,’ he writes, ‘ our mercantile people would cultivate to a larger extent than they do great future possibilities in Morocco. The present may not be the best time for new enterprises, but pending the restoration of order, care should be taken that other countries do not receive preferential treatment and concessions, which would end in closing the door against British trade.’ There is, indeed, a strong, but I trust ill-founded, impression amongst English residents in Morocco that our Government are neglecting British interests for fear of offending a friendly Power. For my own part, I would venture to urge the need of impressing upon His Majesty’s Government the importance of our trade, both actual and potential, and that steps be taken with a view to the maintenance of the open door in the fullest conformity with the letter and

spirit of the Act of Algeciras. It must be borne in mind, as pointed out by Mr. Arthur Dicey in connexion with another Eastern country, that the 'Open Door,' excellent watchward though it be, admits of various loose interpretations. It is quite possible, in fact, for an astute Power to keep the door widely open, yet to spread across it a strong, but almost invisible, net that will effectually shut out the commerce of her rivals."

#### TURKEY.

Resolutions have been passed by the League urging that an annual grant be made from the Treasury towards the maintenance of the British High School for Boys at Constantinople. Acknowledgments of these resolutions have been received from Sir Edward Grey, from Mr. Lloyd George, and from the Prime Minister, who promised to give the matter his careful attention. Liberal subsidies, it may be mentioned, are granted to similar institutions in Turkey by Germany, France, Italy, and Austria, and other countries.

#### NEWFOUNDLAND.

The League has approached the Postmaster-General with a view to a reduction of the postage on newspapers and periodicals, as has lately been granted in the case of Canada. This loyal colony is being flooded with American journals of an anti-English character, a fact which has had an unfavourable influence on our trade in Newfoundland.

#### INDIA AND CEYLON.

The Secretary has invited Lord Elgin's attention to the striking off from the Ceylon Estimates a sum for the provision of training of teachers for the new Vernacular Schools which have been founded in the colony during the past year. The committee will shortly consider the advisability of approaching Mr. Morley on the subject of the lack of facilities for the vernacular education of the children em-

ployed on the tea-gardens of Assam and in other planting districts. In Assam alone, out of 250,000 children working in the tea-gardens, for only 600 do any educational facilities exist.

The League has been approached by the Hon. K. Sirinavasa Rau, Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council, with a view to present a petition to Mr. Morley respecting the case of his father, C. Krishna Rau, whose pension, it is alleged, has been unjustly forfeited.

Our space does not permit fuller reference to the objects of this League, but, as will be seen by the foregoing summary of the work done last year, the League seeks to help British subjects resident abroad, or in the Colonies. Having no Parliamentary representative, an Englishman who leaves Great Britain has scarcely any means of making his wants known, and, consequently, his needs are too often neglected. The League, however, undertakes to ventilate, and will endeavour to obtain redress for, legitimate grievances of Britons overseas.

## A HYMN OF ZARATHUSHTRA.

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

## GREETING TO AN EXPECTED CHAMPION.\*

SALVATION'S hail be his, his whosoe'er he may be<sup>1</sup>;  
 May the all-ruling send it, He supreme o'er<sup>2</sup> strife.<sup>2</sup>  
 Long lasting strength be ours; of Thee I ask it;  
 For the upholding Right,<sup>3</sup> this, holy zeal,<sup>4</sup> vouchsafe us,  
 Rich power,<sup>5</sup> blest rewards, the Good Mind's life!

And for this saint that best of all things,  
 Glory,<sup>6</sup> the glorious one<sup>7</sup> shall gain<sup>8</sup> who<sup>2</sup> may.<sup>2</sup>  
 Reveal Thou, Lord, to us with spirit bounteous<sup>9</sup>  
 What truths by right<sup>8</sup> Thou givest with good<sup>10</sup> mind's<sup>10</sup>  
 wisdom  
 With life's rejoicing increase and on every day.

Yes, that better than the good<sup>11</sup> may be gain<sup>12</sup> surer<sup>12</sup>  
 Who hath for us straight paths of grace explored,<sup>13</sup>  
 Of this life bodily the use, of that the mental  
 In the eternal<sup>14</sup> Realms where dwells Ahura,  
 Like<sup>15</sup> Thee,<sup>15</sup> noble and august, O Mazda Lord!

\* Delivered in a lecture at the Indian Institute, Oxford, now re-edited. To reproduce metrical matter where even the sentimental effect depends so much on melody, a rendering which is at least rhythmical is quite indispensable, while from rhythm to metre is but a step, a faint echo of rhyme itself bringing up the expression of the feeling which breathes throughout the piece to more modern ways of writing. But such a necessary process leaves, perforce, a literal rendering entirely out of the attempt—that is to say, a literal rendering which is not broken up with interpolated enlargements, and such a word-for-word here would be bereft of all the lurking beauty of the original. I have, therefore, in this piece separated this literal rendering, putting it in the following spaces in my editions.

With these last in view, I regard such a reproduction as the present as the truest possible that can be given, leaving my closer readers to look over the verbatims, Latin and English, and the commentaries of 1894 and 1900.

## MEANS OF GRACE.

Yea, I'll conceive Thee mighty, Ahura Mazda,  
When aids Thine hand hath nurtured close<sup>1</sup> appear,<sup>1</sup>  
Aids which as rewards Thou'lt give for good or evil,  
Thy fire's flame therewith, the strong in justice,  
And when to me Thy Good Mind's strength draws near.

## JUDGMENT.

So,<sup>2</sup> in creation's birth when first I saw<sup>3</sup> Thee  
Bounteous<sup>2</sup> in vision<sup>4</sup> later<sup>4</sup> things portend,<sup>4</sup>  
When deeds, most just, rewarding and words, Thou givest  
Ill to the evil, pure blessing to the good  
By Thy just wisdom<sup>5</sup> in this world's last end ;

## ADVENT.

In which last changing Thou, a spirit bounteous,<sup>6</sup>  
Comest with Thy pure Realm which wrong<sup>4</sup> retrieves,<sup>4</sup>  
By deeds of whom the settlements in Right<sup>7</sup> are furthered ;  
Laws unto these to teach devotion<sup>8</sup> striveth,  
Laws of Thy wisdom which no man deceives !

## SUSPENSE.

Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,  
When the true-hearted searched<sup>9</sup> my spirit's<sup>9</sup> inner self<sup>9</sup>  
Asking "who art thou then, and whence thy coming ?  
How for their questions now signs shall I show them,  
Signs in thy settlements and in thyself ?"

## THE SIGNS.

To him I, Zarathushtra, then answered foremost :  
"Torments in very deed the faithless will I send,  
But to our saints would be a joyous power,"  
Since with full care I toil, Thy Realm awaiting<sup>1</sup>  
While I my woven<sup>2</sup> praise<sup>2</sup> to Thee shall blend.



Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,  
 When the true loyal\* came, my mission's<sup>3</sup> call to ask,<sup>3</sup>  
 Saying "what aim hast thou? what wilt thou gain in this?"  
 Then for Thy Fire praise-offering I besought him,  
 Planning Thy Law's advance; this be my task!<sup>3</sup>

"SEARCH ME."

Do Thou Thy Holiness revealing teach me,  
 Since with the zealous<sup>4</sup> joined to rise<sup>4</sup> I seek.<sup>4</sup>  
 Ask Thou yet questions, such that Thou<sup>5</sup> may'st<sup>5</sup> search us,  
 For questions Thine are thus as of the mighty,  
 As when their mighty wish Thy rulers speak.

"PREPARED."

Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,  
 When the true Loyal\* came with spirit<sup>6</sup> blest,<sup>6</sup>  
 And with your words my soul I first instructed;  
 Woes that devoted one<sup>7</sup> 'midst foes forewarned me,  
 Yet will I that fulfil named by Thee best!

FEARS.

And since Thou saidst: "Come for light to Asha,"  
 Command me not yet to speak "veiled truths abroad,"  
 Nor to go forth, ere he, that friend approach me,  
 Obedience<sup>†</sup> hand-joined with richest blessings<sup>2</sup>  
 Whereby, for strivers'<sup>8</sup> help, he gives reward.

SUCCESS.

Yea, I conceived Thee bounteous,<sup>4</sup> Ahura Mazda,  
 When the Faith's messenger<sup>5</sup> my spirit neared;  
 Aims of my will to gain, this gift then give me,  
 Long life, that boon by man yet never wrested,  
 Gifts in Thy Realm give too, most choice<sup>6</sup> declared.

\* It is certainly far higher critique here to take Vohū Manañhā more literally as (he endowed) with the Good Mind, Vohūman. The law of exegesis demands the humanization of all concepts so far as may be admissible.

† The Obedience—The Loyal Party.

## LIGHT.

As the possessor gifts on friend bestoweth  
So give to me, O Lord, rejoicing<sup>7</sup> light,<sup>7</sup>  
When in Thy-kingdom, righteousness my motive,  
Forth to approach I rise 'mid chiefs of doctrine,  
With all whose memories Thy words recite.

## STAUNCHNESS.

Yea, I conceive Thee bounteous, Ahura Mazda,  
When the obedient came with Faith's accord,<sup>8</sup>  
And through his wisdom best with patience showed me,  
"Never your chieftain be of foes the pleaser":  
Yea, saints should hold at worth yon faithless horde!

## RESULT.

Thus Zarathushtra, Lord, adores the spirit,  
And every man most bounteous prays beside;  
Be the just Law life-strong, yea, clothed with body;<sup>1</sup>  
In sun-blest land of ours be there Devotion,  
In deeds to Holy Right may she be guide!

## CHRISTIAN CEMETERIES AND TOMBS IN INDIA.

BY J. KENNEDY (LATE BENGAL C.S.).

IN 1893 the Government of India ordered the preparation of a *Corpus Inscriptionum* which should contain all Christian inscriptions in India, valuable either for their antiquity or their historical interest, and to the Christian the Jewish were conjoined. Three volumes\* of the series have appeared at long intervals; the latest comes from Madras, and the volume for the Bombay Presidency, which should deal with Surat and Goa, is still wanting. The volumes which have appeared are of very unequal merit. It would not be easy to beat the North-West volume for badness: the Bengal volume is a scholarly, albeit somewhat meagre, production: while the Madras volume, edited by Mr. Cotton, is a labour of love. But it is not our present intention to criticise the editing of these volumes, or the mode in which the materials have been compiled; we propose rather to give some account of the treasures which these volumes contain.

In these three volumes there are close on 3,900 inscriptions, of which 2,300 belong to the Madras Presidency. The older ones (with one exception) come from the European factories on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, the banks of the Hoogly, or Agra. The oldest inscription, however, is a Pahlavi one on a Persian cross of the seventh or eighth century, dug up at St. Thomas's Mount in 1547. A photograph of it with an account of two similar crosses will be found in Milne Rae's "Syrian Church in India." All the other inscriptions are European, Jewish, or Armenian. The oldest is a fragment

\* "Indian Monumental Inscriptions" (vol. i., Bengal, 1896; vol. ii., North-West Provinces and Oudh, 1896; vol. iii., Madras, 1905). Published by order of the Government of India.

which records the erection of a church at Cochin in 1517; the next a Portuguese epitaph, likewise at Cochin, of the year 1524. There are not more than twenty or thirty inscriptions—all of them Portuguese—of the sixteenth century, and inscriptions are rare before 1660, after which the English and Dutch make their appearance. Among the earliest traces of the newcomers outside Surat are the English and Dutch tombs at Agra. With a few trifling exceptions, all the inscriptions in these volumes are sepulchral, and they are in almost every European language. At the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, founded in 1618, and famous a century later for the labours of the Danish missionaries, the tombstones represent no less than nine different Western tongues; and the Jerusalem Church there still possesses Ziegenbalg's pulpit, the original chairs of the Moravian brethren, and the silver candlesticks of 1688. Most of the missionaries were not Danes, but Westphalians and North Germans. Few cemeteries are so polyglot. From a purely literary point of view, the Armenian epitaphs are the most remarkable; but it is the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English which furnish the greatest number of inscriptions, and the most interesting material. To these we might add the Jews, since the Jews of Cochin go back to 700 A.D., and probably to a much earlier date. But the Cochin Jews have left no inscriptions, and the flourishing communities of Bagdad Jews, which date from the latter half of the seventeenth century, have given us nothing remarkable.

Every resident in India must have been impressed with the older European cemeteries, now silent and deserted, sometimes lying in a busy quarter of the town which is full of life; oftener in some remote region, from which the tide of humanity has turned away. Who does not know the pompous erections, the obelisks and mausolea with their mouldering brickwork and crumbling stucco, the inscriptions scarce legible and darkened by time, the untrodden paths, the general air of desolation and neglect,

the culverts under which the jackals breed? But with half a dozen exceptions, none of them go back beyond the middle of the eighteenth century. Some of the oldest are not inclosed, if they ever were so. We find graves in the compounds of hospitals and public buildings, and tombstones which have been built into the walls of dwelling-houses or of the local mosque. Often the inscriptions have completely disappeared. On the edge of the high bank at the little town of Tappal, and overlooking the low-lying valley of the Jumna, which is here several miles in breadth, and full of reeds and sandy reaches of back-water winding through the thick *jungle* and the occasional patches of cultivation, there stands a mud fort belonging in its last days to the Begum Sumru. Outside the walls of the fort there is a group of nameless Christian graves, each marked with a cross. All are now ruinous, the brickwork is fissured, and unclean beasts burrow round the tombs. For more than a century this little fort was commanded by some European adventurer, and here each one rests unremembered and unknown. The Tappal fort has no place in history, but its fate is the fate of many a more famous locality. Even Wandiwash, the scene of so many famous exploits, can show only a single grave, and that a nameless one. There is nothing more striking in these volumes than the entire absence of graves to mark the wars of the French and English between 1745-1760. The historian will search in vain at Fort St. David, or Trichinopoly, or Pondicherry, or Madras for any traces of the struggle. Not a dozen contemporary inscriptions survive, and not one of importance. The heroic age of Clive and Stringer Lawrence erected no monuments over those who fell. Indeed, monuments over men who died in a campaign or on the battle field before 1780 are very rare, and Time has dealt unequally with those of a later age. In many cases it is the tomb of the youngest and most insignificant which has survived. The tomb of the child known to all the world



as "Little Henry" is still to be seen in the cemetery of Berhampur, while the tomb of the intrepid Irishman, Thomas, in the same cemetery, is unidentified.

Perhaps the most striking tombs are the solitary ones, and natives often regard them with a superstitious awe. Cunningham tells a story of an officer, who, being mortally wounded, was borne to a *pipal*-tree, and died in its shade. The villagers still appease his angry ghost with *arrack* and cheroots. The Rajah of Bhinga in Oudh maintains the grave of a nameless officer slain by dacoits nearly a century ago. The grave of Joachim Marie Raymond (1798) in Hyderabad is marked by a granite obelisk with the initials "J.R." It stands at the end of a terrace on a hill known as Raymond's Hill, and at the other end of the terrace is a small building like a Grecian temple, with rude crosses painted on the base. An annual fair is held at the tomb, and salutes are fired by the irregular troops in honour of Musa Rahim (Joachim). The famous commander of the Hyderabad Contingent, Eustace de Lannoy (1777), better known as "Istach," and called "The Great Captain" during his lifetime, is equally famous in Travancore.

We have a French engineer, who has become a *ghazi*, a Mohammedan saint, while a nameless tomb at Vizagapatam over some of Bussy's soldiers is said to be haunted by demons. The tombs of the youthful Cleveland, who tamed the wild men of Rajmehal, and of John Nicholson at Delhi, have had their worshippers. The latest example of this popular worship is the tomb of a French priest, Alexander Dubois, who died in South Canara: "Usque ad finem laborans, viribus deficiens, meritis dives, caelo maturus, placide decessit die Dec. XI., A.D. 1877. Ab hac die illius sepulturæ locus indesinenter ab omni gente, ab infidelibus etiam invisitur. Deum pro illo aut per illum rogaturi accedunt, et plerumque voti compotes recedunt." The chapel which he had built has fallen, but his tomb remains.

Of all the great nations which have attempted the conquest of India the monuments of the Portuguese and the

French are the most disappointing. A great church and a magnificent Renaissance tomb cover the embalmed remains of the great apostle of the Indies, and Hindoos and Mohammedans bring offerings to the shrine. Infidels used to visit the tomb of Albuquerque at Goa to invoke his assistance against their European oppressors. But there are few traces outside Goa of the Lusitanian crusaders and adventurers who flocked to the East, and the monuments of the Portuguese dating from the sixteenth century in British India are confined to Cochin and S. Thomé, Mylapore. And yet the Portuguese were for a century the sole Europeans in India, and they were the most powerful for fifty years more, until the Dutch expelled them in the middle of the seventeenth century. Their language remained the *lingua franca* of Southern India down to 1800 or 1820, when English took its place; it was the common speech of the half-castes who acted as clerks and interpreters to the stronger races; the Danish missionaries preached in it; and many Portuguese words have found their way into the native tongues. But Portuguese sepulchral monuments are comparatively rare, and Mr. Cotton suggests that the Dutch deliberately destroyed them in India as they did in Ceylon.

The earliest Portuguese tombstone in Cochin dates from 1524, the oldest in S. Thomé from 1557. But the information which the early Portuguese epitaphs furnish is very meagre. They set forth the name and parentage of the deceased, with a notice that the burying-place is reserved for the owner and his heirs. In one instance the price of the grave (8 parados = 12 As.) is stated. So far they conform to an ancient Roman usage. If anything more is added, it is a request for a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave Maria* from the passing stranger. Although the Latin epitaphs are fuller, not half a dozen early Portuguese epitaphs give anything more; and the most important fact which we learn from them is the continuous influx of pure-blooded Portuguese into India until 1670 or 1680.

After that the Portuguese burials are confined, except in the case of ecclesiastics, to persons born in the country. With the conquest of Portugal by Spain, and the downfall of the Portuguese power in India, two events which were closely related, as cause and effect, pure Europeans from Portugal gradually ceased to visit the country, and the Portuguese half-caste was left ingloriously to maintain a tradition which was too great for him.

The French tombs are almost equally disappointing, and few of them are old. At Chandernagore on the Hoogly they go back to 1729, at Pondicherry to 1760. Indeed, the most interesting tombs near Pondicherry are those of English officers who fell in the siege. Bussy's tomb (1785) is still to be seen, but the inscription is commonplace. Few French epitaphs go beyond the barest facts, but there are occasionally some genuine and pathetic outbursts, and we have occasionally something very Gallic, like the following :

"Chéri de la Fortune et favori de Mars,  
La Victoire suivit partout ses étendards.  
D'Hercule il égala les travaux et la gloire,  
Mais une mort trop cruelle a trompé notre espoir."

Epitaphs are notorious liars, and it is interesting to compare this epitaph on the hero Babel with the account given of him by his contemporaries.

Frenchmen still lament the opportunities they lost of conquering India in the eighteenth century, but it is doubtful whether they had any. The brilliant exploits of Suffren and Dupleix, and the doings of the French adventurers who thronged to the courts of the native princes and drilled their troops, are apt to blind us to the fundamental weakness of the French in India. It was different with the Dutch, who a century earlier appeared as if they would distance all competitors. From 1650 to 1700 they were the most powerful of all the European nations in the East, while they contested the sovereignty of the narrow seas with the English at home. Their East India

Company had the whole force of the States behind it, and the Dutch Governor of the Coromandel coast could boast in the presence of the English Governor of Madras (1679) that heretofore the Dutch had made Kings, and now they had made an Emperor, the Mataran. The Dutch cemeteries of this period, which extend along the coast from Vizagapatam to Cape Comorin, and thence to Cochin, bear out these vaunts, and are in some respects the most remarkable in India. The seventeenth century was the age of brave tombs, and it was felicitous in epitaphs. The Dutch imported stone-masons from Holland for the work, and the massive tombs which cover the remains of these republican merchants, sea captains, doctors, and preachers are decorated with coats-of-arms and lines from the Latin poets. Inscriptions in prose and verse record the virtues and the fate of the departed. The cemeteries at Pulicat (which the Dutch called Caste Geldria, in remembrance of Gelderland), at Masulipatam, and Cochin, are the finest. Here these aristocratic officials sleep under lofty obelisks, or vaulted domes adorned with vases and cherubs and cross-bones and skulls. *Hodie Mihi Cras Tibi* is their motto. An obelisk 40 feet high is said to contain the coffin of a lady hung with silver chains. At Pulicat there stands a Renaissance lich-gate decorated with two sculptured skeletons; one bears an hour-glass on his head, and natives say that it represents a wicked Dutch Governor, who during a famine made a fortune from the sufferings of the poor. Every native spits at it as he goes by. A peculiarity of the Dutch tombs is that the inscriptions are often cut in large raised letters. These inscriptions contain much information of every kind, and it would be possible to compile with their aid a complete list of the Dutch possessions in the East and of the Company's officials. The most peculiar of the latter was the *Krankbesoeker*, an inferior clergyman, whose business it was to visit the sick, and who took the Church service in the *Predikant's* absence. The epitaphs are elaborate, pious, and generally



in good taste; many end with verse. The vanity of life and the bliss of heaven are the commonest themes. "Here rests he who had no resting so long as he was in this life." "Weary and tired with all that was temporal, he hath given his soul back to God." Another says: "The old bones of Both lie under this slab. He departs from all turmoil and vanity in order to obtain rest at God's right hand." "Here Muntz laid down pleasure, enjoyments, delights, and all that was dear to him in the world's vale of tears." "Although uncertain fate has shortened this man's life, his desire to do good remained always unshortened." "This slab covers a man who longed after deliverance to return to his fatherland, but death cut off the thread of his life, so that he got here in the grave into blessed rest." Here is one on an infant: "God beckoned, an angel bowed. Go! bring presently this little one above. Thus spoke the Almighty, and soon was the little one above." The realism of the Dutch is frequently expressed in their reference to the corpse. "The gravestone stops the clay-cold mouth of Lucia, my dear better half. Her sad death gives me endless tears." Some doggerel rhymes, with an acrostic at the beginning, middle, and end of each line, say that "Maid Sara was but dust and ashes. God's grace lives in Sara." (A quatrain of Pope's, which is frequently met with on English gravestones, conveys something of the same sentiment.) A single stone covers a pair of lovers: "Their bodies rot here, but in Heaven's Kingdom shall God the souls of the two lovers pair." Occasionally we alight on something which provokes a smile. At the end of a long inscription we read: "So that here lie one father, one mother, one sister, four brothers. Two men and two wives, but not more than six lives." "Poor old Fredrik rests under this slab, turned into dust and slime. He was a droll fellow and full of jokes, and was called for short Father Fritz. Death spared him not, but took a very sharp arrow, and sent his body to the earth, his soul above."



The power of the Dutch waned in India, as it waned in Europe, after the peace of Utrecht, and it came to an end with the French revolutionary wars. The last Governor of Chinsura and its last Fiscal rest under English tombstones. The English sepulchral inscriptions in India are vastly the most numerous, and afford materials of all kinds, whether for history, genealogy, or literature. It is true that the older English cemeteries are seldom so imposing as the Dutch. The mausolea, summer-houses, temples, and obelisks, the sculptured skeletons, death's-heads, and coats-of-arms are less frequent and less grandiose; nor are the English and Latin epitaphs prior to the wars of Lawrence and Clive, on the whole, so good. From 1750 to 1770 epitaphs are rare. It is the period from 1770 to 1830, or a little later, which abounds in materials for the portraiture of a society closely allied to, and yet very unlike, our own. The earliest English inscriptions come from Agra and Surat. The Surat inscriptions have not yet been published in full, but the earliest English tomb at Agra is dated 1627, and an English as well as a Dutch factory existed there throughout a great part of the seventeenth century. The mortuary chapel in which Europeans were buried belonged to an Armenian, Khoja Mortenepus, who died in 1611. The chapel contains the remains not only of English and Dutch merchants of the seventeenth century, and of the Portuguese to a later date, but also of five Armenian priests, one of whom was a Bishop from Tabriz (1615), and of twenty-two Roman Catholic fathers—mostly Portuguese—who died between 1634 and 1767. Two of these Roman Catholic missionaries were taken captive at Dacca, and died in a Moghul prison. All the early inscriptions at Agra are in Armenian characters.

Calcutta and Dacca possess the oldest monuments in Bengal. The Dacca inscriptions only date from 1725, while the earliest monument in Calcutta is the mausoleum of Job Charnock and his family. "Postquam in solo non suo peregrinatus esset diu, reversus est domum suæ

æternitatis decimo die Jan. 1692" (O.S.). It was fitting that the mausoleum of the founder of Calcutta should form the nucleus of the new city.

The Madras inscriptions commence with the middle of the seventeenth century. The oldest in the cemetery within the walls of Fort St. George records the date of the first Governor's wife in 1652. This cemetery is the most important in the Madras Presidency, but there are a number of fine English tombs at Cuddapah and Masulipatam, mostly, however, of the early eighteenth century. Members of Council, chiefs of factories, merchants, sea-captains, pilots, chaplains, and surgeons all find mention on these grave-stones. We have descendants of Oliver Cromwell and John Milton, relatives of Locke and Addison, as well as the founders of great English families and fortunes. But the early inscriptions, although long, are generally disappointing; they throw little light upon the history or the manners of the time; the debauchery of the common folk, who were mostly half-caste Portuguese; the insubordination of the chiefs; their avidity for diamonds; their formal piety; their keenness for trade; and their intrigues with the natives; even the admixture with half-castes is not very evident. The Latin hexameters over Cristopher Oxenden (1659) at Surat are, perhaps, the most characteristic: "Do you ask, my masters, what is your profit and loss? You have gained sorrow, he has lost his life, but *per contra* let him write 'death to me is gain.'" The epitaph on Elihu Yale is well known, but it is in an English churchyard.

"In America born, in Europe bred,  
In Afric travelled, and in Asia wed."

One of the ladies who presided at Governor Yale's house in Madras (1687-1692), a Portuguese Jewess, was afterwards noted as one of the keenest traders on the Coromandel coast, and ended her days at the Cape of Good Hope, to be buried beside her son and Yale's.

We have already said that epitaphs between 1745 and

1770 are rare. We have no contemporary monuments of those who suffered in the Black Hole of Calcutta or who fell at Plassy, and there are only three inscriptions of 1756 and 1757 (one is Admiral Watson's) which refer to the war then raging in Bengal. Nor is Madras richer in monuments of this period. One searches in vain for traces of the famous battles and sieges at Wandiwash, Arcot, or Trichinopoly. Fort St. David was razed to the ground, and the Madras tombstones know nothing of the capture of the city. It is only at Pondicherry that we come on traces of the fighting.

But from 1770, or a little before it, English monuments abound. For the most part they commemorate military officers and civil officials; but we still have some of the old leaven—free merchants and sea captains. Perhaps the most striking fact is that that generation made India its home. We call India the "Land of Regrets," and we talk of death in exile. But even in the seventeenth century we meet with men who lived to be seventy, and had passed nearly half a century in the country. In the early part of the nineteenth century we find three persons whose ages range from 101 to 105, all of them belonging to the Madras Presidency. Frances Crook, who was born at Fort St. David, died in Calcutta at the age of eighty-seven (1812), and is said, on her tombstone, to have been "the oldest British Resident in Bengal." She was four times married, and became, through her daughter, the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool. We have several Generals in command of troops when they were over eighty, a major of eighty, and an ensign of seventy—the former with sixty, the latter with fifty, years of service. A General of sixty-five has sixty years' service to his credit, having received an appointment on his father's death in battle at a time when pensions were unknown. Mr. W. A. Brooke was senior judge of the Appellate Court at Benares at the age of eighty-one. It was a vigorous race. Colonel Strange (1811), who is buried at Salem, kept no convey-

ance, and would walk twenty or thirty miles to breakfast with a friend, and return on foot the same evening. These Anglo-Indians formed a community by themselves, and one is struck by the number of monuments erected by those who had no ties except those of friendship and *cameraderie*. In very many cases it is the officers of the regiment or the officials in the station who set up the monument. The sepoys put up a memorial "to their old and good father," the Colonel. Natives as well as Europeans subscribe to erect a memorial to some civil officer "in token of their love and esteem." A grateful sherishtadar, grown rich with plunder, laments the death of his patron, the collector; a General puts up an inscription to show his esteem for the officer who commanded the regiment when he was a subaltern; a lover bewails his lady-love in an epitaph; and a lady inscribes a Latin inscription in honour of her betrothed, a young civilian; a General erects a church and a tomb to the memory of a young lady. Even a native girl erects a monument to the memory of a captain. Among the most curious are the monuments set up by duellists to the memory of their antagonists. From 1770 to 1800 there was a mania for duelling. The campaign of 1781 in Southern India was particularly fertile in duels. The smallest incident, the most careless expression, was sufficient to provoke one, and, if the men were unwilling, their wives urged them on. Many a valuable life was thrown away for a trifle. Colonel Kelly was a distinguished officer of the Madras army. Colonel Vigors, in conversation with his own wife, called him an "old woman," and Mrs. Vigors repeated the remark to Mrs. Kelly, who insisted on her husband challenging the offender. Colonel Kelly was killed, and Colonel Vigors erected a column 65 feet high over him "as a mark of respect for a gallant soldier." Some of these duels, however, were atrocious, and little short of murder. A youth of twenty, who wished to marry, had himself transferred to another regiment, and refused to join the mess. The subalterns challenged him



in a body, and did not desist until they had killed him. But duels were only one expression of a feeling which was universal, the feeling of "honour." The epitaphs bear frequent testimony to it: "A sense of honour as strict as any man could boast"; another "Fell an early and sudden victim to his too high sense of honour." An officer who had served with Lawrence and Clive is said (A.D. 1789) to have "maintained unsullied the proud characteristics of an Englishman: loyalty, bravery, and honour." English pride is strongly marked in epitaphs of a much later date. Here is one of 1859: "He was one of God's noblest works in India, a sterling, upright Englishman." But the difference of phrase shows the change which had come over the moral standard of the community.

The tombstones commemorate many other virtues, and the expressions are sometimes happy. The deceased, we are told, was "a soldier by nature, a gentleman by birth, a friend to all, an enemy to none." Zeal for the public service is, of course, a common encomium. The hospitality of the deceased is frequently lauded, and sensibility is an eighteenth-century virtue frequently met with on the tombs, but now somewhat out of fashion. One inscription appeals to us: "Stranger, if thy breast be open to the charms of sensibility," etc. One lady (1793) "died of pure sensibility!" There are many pompous epitaphs, but the expression sometimes falls far short of the genuine feeling. A father says of his three-year old child that "he was a promising youth." Colonel Scott quitted his bungalow at Seringapatam in 1817 on the death of his wife. He was devoted to her memory, and allowed nothing to be changed. Her piano and her chair, even the carpet and the curtains, are still maintained as when she died. But her epitaph merely states that she was "respected and esteemed by all who knew her, and her premature death was regretted by her more intimate friends." This English reticence is in strange contrast with the effusiveness of some French inscriptions.



The mode of life and causes of death are often referred to. In the paucity of clergymen marriages were often celebrated by the civil officers. Small-pox and childbirth are perhaps the causes of death most frequently mentioned. Childbirth appears to have been particularly fatal both to Dutch and English women. Sunstroke and "spasmodic cholera" first make their appearance in the nineteenth century. Many officers in Madras, civil and military, are said to have died from snake-bites, while one young civilian (1793) "fell a sacrifice to the incautious use of castor-oil nuts."

A small society living under such exceptional circumstances was sure to develop eccentric characters. One old sea-dog (1800) kept his coffin in his godown, using it as a receptacle for his liquor or his horse's grain, and had himself buried in his garden. Others married natives, and took to native modes of life. Colonel Stuart at Calcutta became a Hindoo, and built a *ghat*, where he bathed in state, and a quasi-Hindoo temple is his resting-place. We have quotations from Hafiz, and a Tamil inscription on the tomb of a famous Oriental scholar is in thoroughly heathen style. But such cases are the exception, and perhaps the most striking fact with regard to these epitaphs from 1770 to 1850 is the tone of evangelical piety which pervades them. Curiously enough, pious expressions are rare in the English inscriptions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Puritan merchants who filled their correspondence with pious expressions, seldom put them on their tombs, in striking contrast to their Dutch contemporaries. But after 1770—whether it was that the society had changed, or whether it was the new tone of piety which prevailed in England—we seldom have an English inscription of any length which does not refer to the future life. Some of them are simple and quaint. Here is one:

"Life is uncertain, and death very sure;  
Sin is our wound, and Christ is our cure."

Occasionally the deceased preaches, and the sermon is a Christian sermon; such is the sermon put into the mouth

of the first Lady Peel's grandmother. The Day of Judgment and Eternity are rarely mentioned in the English and Dutch inscriptions of the seventeenth century. They now become common subjects of reflection. "Hic jacet corpus Philippi Pitman, centurionis, in expectatione dies supremi. Qualis homo erat iste dies indicabit." Eternity is dwelt on in prose and rhyme, sometimes in terms which are intended to be sublime, but fail to be intelligible.

Time fails us to indicate the vast amount of historical and genealogical matter which these volumes, more especially the admirably edited Madras volume, contain. The student of missions will find in them the memorials of the Jesuit, Beschi, the finest linguist who ever visited India; of Ziegenbalg and his successors; of Schwartz and Kierlander and the Baptist missionaries at Serampore; of Anglican Bishops from the time of Middleton and Heber and Wilson downwards; and of many a devoted priest and minister of every denomination, who died by sea and land, in the chamber, the desert, and the battlefield. Nor have we space to dwell on the literary value of these inscriptions.

Suffice it to say that if the Christian sepulchres of India cannot compare in architectural splendour with the Mohammedan or Hindoo, their inscriptions are immensely richer in information, in literary skill, and in the expression of virtues which were preached, if they were not always practised. They sometimes exhibit the pride of conquerors, but they also exhibit the humility of the saints.

## BRITISH INTERESTS IN MOROCCO.

BY A MEMBER OF THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE.

It is much to be regretted that, until quite recently, there has been a total lack of appreciation in England of the true aspect of Moroccan problems. In these days of strenuous competition we can, however, ill afford to lose any markets, however unimportant they may at first sight appear. It is, therefore, clearly the duty of those holding responsible positions to take a keener interest in these matters, and watch the doings of our competitors, besides, if necessary, imitating their methods and endeavouring to forestall them.

For many years prior to the conclusion of the Anglo-French Convention of April, 1904, our sea-borne trade with Morocco amounted to nearly half of the total trade; it was more than double that of France, and between three and four times that of Germany. From the political point of view, at the time it was concluded, there can be no question about the wisdom of that Convention; and, as a bargain, France has not by any means got the best of it—at any rate, as far as present appearances show. But, from the Moroccan commercial point of view it is open to question whether Great Britain ever did a worse day's business than when our statesmen signed away our acquired commercial strength in Morocco.

Morocco is a rich but undeveloped country; its mineral wealth is untouched, though undoubtedly great, while its agriculture is capable of great extension. The Shereefian Empire offers a wide field for enterprise and industry, and when it emerges from its severe and long-lasting tribulations there will be a rich harvest to reap—a harvest in which we shall have no share unless our merchants and traders bestir themselves, and, by combined action, create an interest at present sadly lacking in Moroccan commerce.

There is a tendency, due to the way matters have been represented in the Press, to look upon the action of Germany in connexion with Morocco, and upon the visit of the German Emperor to Tangier, as uncalled-for and unwarrantable meddling, and as the cause of the present disastrous state of affairs. This is far from being the correct view of the case. Whether, if Russia had been successful against Japan, Germany would have intervened in Moroccan affairs is quite beside the question. Before condemning German action, we ought to try and look at the matter through German spectacles. Unfortunately, our Press has published only one view, and a very one-sided view, of the case. The facts are that Germany had growing commercial interests in Morocco, that she had negotiated a special commercial Convention at Fez as long ago as 1890, through her Minister, Count Tattenbach, whose successor, on "kissing hands" at his appointment, was specially instructed by the German Emperor himself to use his influence in pushing German trade, and in helping German traders in Morocco. Germany was far from regarding Morocco as a commercial *quantité négligeable*, whereas England and France both appear to have looked upon Germany as a political *quantité négligeable* in coming to an agreement, political and commercial, about a country which belonged to neither, and in which Germany had commercial interests, which she, at any rate, looked upon as important. Can it, then, be wondered at that the German Emperor should have determined not to submit passively to the loss of a growing commercial asset? Under similar circumstances, whether in political or in private life, who would not have done the same?

As to the present state of affairs, here is an incident for which I can vouch, and which happened shortly after the Anglo-French Convention had become known in Morocco, but long before German intervention.

A French and a Swiss gentleman were travelling



together in Morocco, and at the fording of a river, found themselves among a crowd of Arabs. The Arabs inquired who the Europeans were, and on being told by one of the servants that they were French, immediately raised an outcry that the French wanted to steal their country, and proposed to cut the travellers' throats as an example to others of what they might expect. The servant, with great presence of mind, explained that he had only been joking, that nothing would induce him to travel with Frenchmen, and that the travellers were really Englishmen who had come from London to see what the French were doing in Morocco. He was able to pacify the Arabs, and the travellers, who understood Arabic, but had wisely refrained from showing their knowledge, were allowed to proceed on their journey.

This incident is given only as an illustration of the general feeling among the natives of Morocco long before the German Emperor's visit to Tangier; many similar instances could be given to show the strong anti-French feeling which existed in Morocco, and to dispel, if possible, the false belief, created by our leading newspapers, that Germany is responsible for the present state of affairs. In fact, ever since the occupation of Tunisia the Moors of Morocco, from the highest to the lowest in the land, have looked upon the French with growing fear and mistrust, and never have a nation's fears been more tragically justified than in Morocco's case. After the signing of the Anglo-French Convention these fears changed into active dislike, from which the British residents also had to suffer, to a certain extent, being continually told by their native friends and acquaintances: "You English, who have always been our friends, have betrayed us."

Taking all the foregoing into consideration, is it strange that the German Emperor, when he visited Tangier, was acclaimed as a saviour by all alike except the French: the Moors looked upon him as the rescuer of their country, and the foreigners as the protector of their trade! Those



best qualified to form an opinion firmly believe that, far from being the cause of the present unhappy state of affairs, Germany's intervention served to delay the breaking up of the Moorish Empire by one year at least.

Since the signing of the Anglo-French Convention our percentage of the trade has been steadily declining, and though part of the falling-off is due to bad harvests and the consequent diminution of exports from Morocco to Great Britain, a considerable portion of the decline must be attributed to French activity aroused by the Convention. This loss of trade will become greater and greater as time goes on unless those interested in maintaining such rights as the General Act of Algeciras (April 7, 1906) confers, combine to prevent a repetition in Morocco of what happened to British trade in Tunisia and Madagascar.

French trade has shown a great increase within the last few years, but it would not be correct to attribute the total increase to the effects of the Anglo-French Convention. In the same way as part of the falling off of British trade is due to bad harvests and consequent diminution of exports of grain to Great Britain, so part of the French increase of trade is due to the bad harvests and the consequent increase of imports of food-stuffs from France into Morocco.

At the present juncture, and owing to contributory causes, trade statistics prove too much, and therefore no accurate estimate can be made of the already serious effects of the Convention on our hitherto unassailable commercial position in Morocco; that they are already serious is well known to all those having business connexions with that country, and better still to British merchants residing on the spot. With French officials (mostly of Tunisian training) in every Moorish custom-house, with French political and commercial agents everywhere, who have all been carefully instructed to foster French trade and French interests, and whose zeal naturally induces them to hinder any other trade or interest, can it be doubted that

before long our trade will dwindle to nothing, unless serious efforts are made to arrest, before it is too late, the already inserted thin end of the wedge? Some Morocco merchants have been heard to say that, owing to their old-established businesses and connexions, and in the absence of any serious French merchants, they are sure to reap great advantages during the first years of French predominance. They forget that private efforts are unavailing against State-aided enterprise, and that every Frenchman in Morocco, friendly as the *Entente Cordiale* makes him, must be silently working for the extinction of their trade and influence. Others say: "'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' Let us wait until there is something more tangible to go on." They would wait until it is too late!

It is, perhaps, necessary and expedient for me here to explain that these remarks are in no way intended to give offence to our friends across the Channel. French policy in Morocco has for many years been consistent in aiming at preponderance, and great sacrifices have been made to attain this object. With every good intention the French Government cannot prevent each individual Frenchman, official or otherwise, from looking upon Morocco as his newly-acquired birthright, and upon other foreigners as interlopers; yet these other foreigners, many of them born and reared in the country, look upon it as their real birthright, and are perfectly justified in struggling to maintain such positions as they have acquired, and such rights as the Algeciras Act confers.

How often do we hear people who ought to be better informed say: "Morocco! Why, Morocco belongs to France! What concern is it of ours?" They do not know that all foreigners in Morocco are subject to the laws and jurisdiction of their respective nations, nor that British births, marriages, and deaths, are duly registered in the British Consular Offices, and through them communicated to Somerset House. They do not know that the Imperial Postal Service has post offices in every town in Morocco,

as have also Spain, France, and Germany, and that, while these three nations are now charging the penny postal rate to and from Morocco, the British post offices still charge the twopence-halfpenny rate, to the evident disadvantage of British interests.

In fact, they know little or nothing of the true aspect of Moroccan affairs. They are not to blame for their lack of information, but our leading newspapers are, and if this article helps to correct some wrong impressions and to create some interest in quarters hitherto apathetic, it will not have been written in vain.

In conclusion, let me urge all those commercially interested in Morocco, and those whose broader views enable them to take a practical interest in our overseas trade, to combine and make themselves heard in order to prevent any infringement of the letter or the spirit of the Act of Algeciras, and to counteract the effects of the Anglo-French Convention in so far as British trade with Morocco is concerned.

NOTE.—It may be added that the objects of the Overseas League with respect to Morocco are as follows:

1. To further British interests in Morocco.
2. To assist British subjects resident in Morocco, both individually and collectively, as necessity arises.
3. To watch closely and attentively events in any way related to the question of the "Open Door" in Morocco; and to use every legitimate means for the maintenance of equal trading rights for all nations in the fullest degree, in conformity with the letter and spirit of the Act of Algeciras.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, December 17, 1907, at 4 p.m., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., presiding, a paper was read by N. G. Welinkar, Esq., M.A., LL.B. (Superintendent of Municipal Schools, Bombay), on "The Problems of Higher Education in India." There were present amongst others: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel A. T. Fraser, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Theodore Morison, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. S. R. Samuel, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. and Mrs. B. Dube, Mr. Mirza Mahomed Rafi, Mr. N. N. Ghattak, Mr. Edward Cazalet, Miss Beck, Miss C. Membréz, Miss Penny, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. E. Dalgado, Miss J. S. Westbrook, Miss F. Winterbottom, Miss Annie Smith, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., Hon. Sec.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am only occupying the chair for a moment in order to say one or two words about the great loss this Association has sustained by the death of our Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon. No one who has worked, as I have, with him for a great many years can have failed to appreciate his charming character, his amiable manner, his devotion to the interests of this Society, to which he gave up so much of his time and attention (hear, hear), and it is only fitting on this occasion, the first after his lamented death, that I should say one word expressing our common and joint grief at his loss, and our sympathy with his family. (Hear, hear.) That is all that I think I need say with regard to him, known to all so well; and I would only add that it is a great source of satisfaction to me as the chairman of the Council of this Association, as well as to all my colleagues, that we have found as his successor Dr. John Pollen, who is also well known to you, and who I am quite sure possesses all the qualifications to make the secretaryship of this Association a success. (Applause.) We consider it the greatest good fortune that we were able to persuade him to take up these duties, which are by no means of a light character; and unless the secretary were an efficient man, and took upon himself a very large part of the work, it would be quite impossible for me, who have very many duties, to continue as your chairman, a position which I sometimes feel I have occupied too long. (No, no!) At any rate, in the hands of our friend, I am perfectly certain that not only will the members of the Association be thoroughly satisfied with the way in which the duties are conducted, but that he will, by the magnetism of his character, draw many more members into our Association, the numbers of which are now too low. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Lepel Griffin and gentlemen, I am not a member



of the Association, but I cannot take up my position here this afternoon without associating myself with Sir Lepel Griffin in the heartfelt encomium he has passed on the late Mr. Arathoon. I had the privilege of enjoying Mr. Arathoon's personal friendship for many years, and there is no one I esteemed and respected more. I would also, if I may take the liberty of so doing, associate myself in the remarks Sir Lepel Griffin has made on the appointment of the learned Dr. John Pollen to succeed Mr. Arathoon as Honorary Secretary to the East India Association. Dr. Pollen also has always been a great friend of mine, and I can assure you he will make you an ideal secretary, and if he likes to begin his labours here by securing you a batch of new members, he may put me down on the list at once for election. (Applause.)

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: There is one gentleman here this afternoon whose presence is an honour to the meeting, who has had a wider experience of practical education in India than any of us, and who has always shown the strongest sympathy with the needs and aspirations of the people of India, and I will take the liberty of at once calling upon Mr. Morison, now a Member of the Council of the S. S. for India, to address the meeting. (Applause.)

Mr. THEODORE MORISON said that, in the first place, he should like to thank Mr. Welinkar for his extremely interesting and suggestive paper. Mr. Welinkar had covered a very wide range of subjects, and had had something interesting to say on all of them, but as a matter of tactics he really must ask all persons who spoke upon the subject of Indian education not to be too diffuse. He felt that in the matter of Indian education they were suffering from a far too general demand for progress in a great many different directions. They were called upon to start residential colleges, to give higher teaching in the colleges, and all the other interesting suggestions which Mr. Welinkar had made. Then there was another body of educationists who were saying the thing that was wanted was greater attention paid to secondary education; and, finally, they had had the suggestion of the Government that a great deal should be done for primary education, and that primary education should be free.

The result was that the army of education was being pointed out so many ways in which it ought to go that it was not marching at all, or marching very little, and he really thought that men like Mr. Welinkar, who were really interested in Indian education, should try to arrive at some unanimity of educational opinion, so that they might present to the Government and the public a definite programme which had expert approval. At the present moment it was impossible to find out what expert opinion was. Expert opinions were almost as numerous as the persons who were engaged on education in India. (Hear, hear.) Speaking as an educationist, he believed they would never make any serious progress until they arranged amongst themselves to sink their private differences and concentrate their attention upon demanding one particular step. He confessed he had a great deal of sympathy with a large number of the proposals Mr. Welinkar had made, and he cordially agreed as to the desirability of good feeling between the English staff and their students



(hear, hear) ; and not only the desirability, but the absolute necessity of it. No education worthy of the name could ever exist unless there was trust and confidence between the student and his teacher. (Hear, hear.) If it was true that the earlier educationists of India had very much more influence with their students, it was undoubtedly because they did live in intimate association with their students. That generation had not entirely passed away. He hoped and believed that amongst the younger men of the present day there were a great many who would come up to Mr. Welinkar's ideal with regard to teaching. In an interesting conversation with the Principal of the Presidency College of Calcutta that gentleman had said that whatever might happen to the other services it was absolutely indispensable that the members of the education service should be on good terms with the educated classes. There could be, as he very rightly said, no coercion in the matter of education ; it could only be friendly sympathy and guidance. Certainly the influence which the older generation had exercised was very remarkable. He was extremely struck with the great respect and veneration with which Mr. Gokale always spoke of his master, the Principal of the Poonah College, Dr. Selby ; so much so that in his public utterances he said if he did not have Dr. Selby's approbation he felt a great deal of misgiving and heart-searching, and that he was likely to be going wrong, or, indeed, it was probable he was going wrong. If there was this want of sympathy at the present moment, and if Mr. Welinkar's criticism was true, how it could be remedied was a question he (Mr. Morison) did not feel capable of giving an opinion upon, except with regard to one point which had come within his own experience. The tradition of the college with which he had been connected was that the relations between the staff and the students should be extremely intimate and friendly, and as long as the number in the college was small that object had been very successfully attained. He believed that the college was less successful at the present time, not because of any difference in the staff, but because of the enormous increase in the number of students. He himself had lived in a particular college in what was described in the jargon of the college as the golden age, but it was now described as the silver or copper age, or possibly something worse. He did maintain from his own experience that his own feeling of affection for, and interest in, his students had not in any way declined, but very materially increased, during the time he was there. But that the students individually got much less attention from him was undeniable. As he had constantly pointed out, when a college consisted of from three to four hundred students, if one gave to every student twenty minutes for private conversation about himself and about what he was going to do in life, and what his father proposed for him, they would easily see that very much time was occupied, and that when the turn of the first student came round again the teacher would probably have forgotten something about him, and the student had certainly forgotten that the teacher was taking an interest in his career. The reason why it had been possible in the early days to influence the students was that the same student came to his teacher very frequently, and thereby he was actively conscious that the teacher was taking an interest in him. By

reason of the increased numbers of the students that was actually impossible at the present day, and he cordially agreed with what Mr. Welinkar had said, that one of the remedies which was very much needed was an increase in the staff or a decrease in the students. Mr. Welinkar had taken the two things together, and had pointed out that the difficulty had been introduced owing to the increase of students, and that there had been no corresponding increase in the teaching staff.

There was one other point he would like to mention, and that was that everybody who criticized English education in India complained, and very justly, of the incubus and deadening effect of examinations, and then, as a result of their reflections, they generally wound up by proposing another examination. (Laughter.) Therefore, if Mr. Welinkar had erred with reference to that, it was in very good company. That was exactly what the University Commission did. The University Commission made some very scathing remarks about the deadening effect of examinations, but when one looked to see what exactly they had proposed to remedy this state of things, the only thing was that they introduced an additional subject in the examination for B.A. The B.A. examination had the enormous advantage over all other examinations in India that the candidate had only to present three subjects instead of five in the intermediate and four in the entrance, and the University Commission proposed that for the B.A. examination there should be in future four subjects. He was one of those who cordially agreed with all that could be said against examinations. They were a great evil, and he did think the way to remedy that evil was to diminish the number, and he confessed he had been very anxious to see a bold experiment made in the direction of reducing the examinations. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Orange, the very talented and capable Director-General of Education in India, was pressing for the introduction of some system like that which they had in Germany, by which students were allowed to matriculate upon the recommendation of an inspector, joined with the head master, and in that way they would get rid of one of those colossal and monstrous examinations—namely, the Entrance. That was a much-needed reform, and he confessed he should like to see the experiment tried in the B.A. examination as well. If it was considered necessary that some form of examination must be retained, he would like to see a pass examination in English, such as existed at the present moment, and allow the other subjects, which no doubt would be retained, to be reported upon by the professors and persons who actually taught, and the Degree given upon their combined recommendation. One of the advantages it would have, which all practical educationists would recognize the importance of, was that teaching would be represented. The system of teaching in India was corrupted by the fact that they had nothing but text-books, and as long as there was a general examination they could not get rid of the text-books. If a syllabus were appointed, it would soon be found that some small college would say they had not taught in that particular way, except with regard to subjects like arithmetic, on which they could hardly go wrong; but with an examination meant for three or four thousand people, it was

impossible that it could exactly correspond with what they had been taught. Therefore text-books had to be prescribed, so that they might all have learnt the same thing. He thought that the living word of the teacher was the vital and most important thing, but they had substituted instead of that the dead word of the text-book. He was rather afraid he was suggesting another remedy, and therefore would conclude. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will now, if he will permit me to do so, call upon Sir Lepel Griffin to address the meeting. He has had a long experience as an administrator, in educational as well as other matters, not only in the Punjab, but also in Central India, and there is no one here able to speak with greater authority and acceptability on the question before the meeting. (Applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that the opening remarks of Mr. Morison were exceedingly true with reference to education. The subject was so vast, so complicated, and so obscured by prejudice, that it was only possible in the few minutes at his disposal to deal with one or two points; but he would desire to dig a good deal deeper than Mr. Morison had attempted to do. Mr. Morison was one of the most distinguished of Indian educationists, and it was a source of permanent satisfaction to him (Sir Lepel Griffin) that he was the direct cause of Mr. Morison going to India at all; but an educationist of his stamp was not really the person who was the least prejudiced in the matter of education. The question which had been asked them and denied and asserted at the same time by their distinguished lecturer was this: Was education as conducted in India to-day a failure, or was it not a failure? They saw around them a great many learned and eloquent Indians, and they could understand by them and their lives that education as exemplified by them was not a failure at all; but, on the other hand, looking at the majority of Indian students, had their education been a failure or had it made them practical, well-mannered, versatile, loyal, useful citizens, or had it not? He thought the general answer must be in the negative, and the fault was not in the men but in the system of education, if they could call that a system which was not a system at all. The root of the failure of Indian education was that the English had tried to pour new wine into old bottles, and they had forgotten that India was a country with a great literature, a great past, traditions of its own, and a religion of its own. But they ignored them all. They tried to make bastard Englishmen of the Indians, and naturally failed. When they attempted to put English education into the Indians, they forgot that they were a country without any educational system of their own. (Laughter.) How could they teach what they did not know themselves? They were the blind leading the blind, and naturally they both fell into the ditch, as we learn is inevitable on the highest authority. If they were to look at Whitaker's Almanack, which had come out within the last day or two, they would see an interesting statement on the educational systems of Europe, and the remark that England was not included in the list, as it had no educational system. What was the reason of this? It was that English education was medieval. The education to-day in the public schools, in the colleges, and in those Universities which occasionally and

by chance were able to send out a first-class man like Mr. Morison to India, was medieval. It went back to the times when Latin was the language of educated Europe. Nothing was now taught which anybody to-day wanted to know. They taught nothing except cricket and football, and Latin and Greek exceedingly badly. (Laughter.) They ignored science, and they ignored it because the education was conducted by a special class—a priestly class—which hated science because it was exact truth, which always had despised and feared art, and which only knew Latin and Greek in the most superficial manner.

Until they got rid of the influence of the Church and of the priest, of whatever communion, from their schools, they never would have any educational system in England, and they never would be able to import an educational system to India. (Laughter.) They might laugh, but that was the root of the question. One would imagine that Englishmen to-day were a stupid race; but Englishmen were not a stupid race: they took the first place in the world to-day, as they always had. A nation which produced Shakespeare and Bacon and Darwin and Kelvin held the highest record in any intellectual pursuit in the whole world. Why did they seem so stupid to-day? It was because their educational system as carried on to-day in England was infinitely inferior to that of France and Germany, or even of Russia. If they wished to see what educated Russians thought about the English system he would ask them to read Mr. Maurice Baring's book on "A Year in Russia," which had been lately published. (Hear, hear.) He did not wish to criticize those of Mr. Welinkar's observations with which he to some extent disagreed, but there were certain things which must be considered in addition to what Mr. Welinkar had said, and he did not think that Mr. Welinkar's observations went to the root of the matter. He would wish to call their attention for a moment to an institution of which he had the honour to be one of the founders—namely, the Punjaub University. In the days when that University was founded he was Under-Secretary to the Government of the Punjaub; and the one man of genius in the Educational Department of the Punjaub was Dr. Leitner, who was so well known to every one connected with the Association. Dr. Leitner was the founder and the creator of the Punjaub University, founded to impart Western knowledge to the people of India through the medium of their own languages, and to interest the Mullahs and the Pundits in higher education. That institution was supported with the utmost enthusiasm and by the money of all the great Princes of Northern India. But it failed; it fell into the hands of the Educational Department. (Laughter.) He thought that department was the most incompetent of any he had ever had to deal with or that had ever been under his direction in India. The men who were the directors of public instruction in the Punjaub in his (Sir Lepel Griffin's) time were two military men—hardly above the standard of a Board School—and one rejected candidate for the Civil Service. Those were the officers who directed and degraded the education of a province. That department practically destroyed the primary aim of the Punjaub University, so much so that he sent in his resignation as a Fellow of the University because he felt he could not



tolerate the so-called reforms which were made in that admirable institution. If he might make a suggestion to Mr. Welinkar in addition to the suggestions with which the paper ended, he would say that the primary thing to do in Indian education was to make English an extra and not an obligatory subject. They did not want to teach the people of India English. They did not want to assimilate the East and the West. They wanted to leave the East with her own history and literature and traditions. They did not want to turn the Indians into bastard Englishmen at all. Let them develop themselves in their own way. If the people of India desired to study English—and the best literature and science could only be studied through English—then let them pay for it, and not teach it for nothing. The educated classes who learnt English would be the sons of well-to-do people with a stake in the country, who would not take that hostile, anti-English attitude which was due to the hunger of half-educated young men who desired to get places at the expense of that Government which had paid for their education and then intrigue against it. That was the chief blot on Indian education. It was perhaps a delicate subject to allude to, but he would further say that part of the failure was inherent in the Indians themselves, owing to their early marriages. When Mr. Welinkar referred to that great educationist, Dr. Duff, it took him back to the time when, as a young man of twenty, Dr. Duff had taken him over his college, and he had talked with the students, and he had never seen anything so astonishing as the cleverness of those young Bengalis who were under Dr. Duff's tuition; but Dr. Duff said: "These bright boys who are astonishing you to-day in two or three years lose all their brains and become as stupid as to-day they are clever; they will all be married at fifteen, and at seventeen will be half idiots." He would like to prohibit any married youth—he would not say man—entering either the colleges or the Universities. Unless that was done they would only get educated up to a certain point. They would have great fluency in conversation, but would have none of the solid qualities which came from consistent study when they had attained to years of maturity, and he thought from what he had said on English education that most of those present who had been through the public schools and colleges and their ridiculous curriculum would agree that all the education that had made any impression on their lives and their future had been gained by themselves after they had left those unscientific institutions. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: If Sir Raymond West will allow me I will now ask him to address the meeting. He had much to do with the management of educational matters in Bombay, and like myself was personally acquainted with most of those who originally established English education in Bombay; not only the Rev. Dr. John Wilson, who has been mentioned by Professor Welinkar, but Professor Harkness and the learned Dr. Sinclair. I would further like to interpolate two remarks on the brilliant speech made by Sir Lepel Griffin. He truly described Dr. Leitner as a man of genius. I knew him as well as anybody, and, like so many men of genius, he did not run easily in official harness. This may have contributed to the difficulties which afterwards arose in connexion with the Punjab University.



Then Sir Lepel Griffin made a remark that seemed to amuse some of those present, but which entirely confirms my own experience, and I was glad that he made it on the authority of the Rev. Dr. Duff. It happened to me repeatedly in Bombay that a most promising student would suddenly fail of his promise, to my great disappointment and grief. I would say to him: "What is the meaning of this? You have done so well for the three or six past months, and now you have turned into a dolt?" The answer would be: "What can I do? my father and mother have made my wedding." That was the end of him: for to the end of his days he remained a dolt. (Hear, hear.)

SIR RAYMOND WEST said that having had a good deal to do with the conduct of education in the Bombay Presidency, the conviction that was brought home to his mind was that they were passing through a transition stage, changing from the notions of the old time to the notions of the new, and that they must therefore have patience and let matters develop according as Nature directed. From what he had heard that afternoon he had not been led to a different conclusion, and he thought patience was just as necessary at the present time as it was thirty or forty years ago. (Hear, hear.) The fact was that education in India was in some respects—and he said it in spite of all criticism—proceeding satisfactorily; in other respects it was proceeding unsatisfactorily, but this was almost inevitable when old systems were tried on an entirely new field. The observations of Sir Lepel Griffin were very striking and original, but he was unable to agree with all that Sir Lepel Griffin had said. For instance, when it was suggested that they should let the Indian mind develop itself in its own way, and should not teach English except at the cost of the people who wanted to learn English: what had cost got to do with it? If it was desirable in the interest of the Empire that the advantages of contact with European thought and education should be given to the people of India, surely it ought to be given to those who would profit by it most, and those were not necessarily the men who had the most money in their pockets. It might be from a certain political standpoint desirable that the wealthy people should be made most able and competent to deal with political questions; but that was a matter that stood altogether apart from education, looked at from the highest point of view, and he was altogether of opinion that education should be pushed on in a thoroughly disinterested spirit, and that they should do all they could, if they took up education at all, to make it the very best that could be given to the Indian people, feeling certain that if they cast their bread upon the waters they would gather it again after many days. We should have the confidence which Elphinstone had when he talked of the subject so many years ago, and said: "When we give education to India it may be that we are showing the way to turn ourselves out of the country, but we must still do our duty." They must trust in Providence and do their duty; and they had the best prospect of gathering honour to themselves and keeping a high place in the world if they did their duty disinterestedly, and said to the Indians: "Go forward; do all you can, and take all the help we can give you." (Applause.)

The question next arose, How was that to be done? and he thought that

the objections which had been made to the indiscriminate admission of persons in enormous numbers to the colleges and Universities were objections of great weight. The standard of education and the possibility of communication between teachers and taught were immensely lowered by the vast numbers of persons who were put forward to receive college education, and to receive it from the most sordid motives—not because they loved education, not because they desired to advance or to be enlightened with things which were worth knowing, but simply to get a place at 30 rupees a month. That was the bane of education in India at the present time, and he thought that the sifting process was most desirable in order that fewer men might go forward to receive a literary education, and that those who did go forward to receive it might be such men as would gain the admiration and sympathy of their teachers, and in return give their teachers that confidence and interplay of mind with mind that was real education, in which the teacher impressed himself on his pupils. This was the work of the great educationists in the early stage of education in India, the remnants of which were still to the fore when he first went to India, such as Dr. John Wilson and others who had but a few pupils, but those pupils relying on their teachers as apostles in opening up a new world to them. What a different phase of life that was to what was seen at the present time, where everything was regulated mechanically and done with a view to examination, and every institution prided itself, not on the character it stamped on each man, not on the sort of men it turned out to elevate the masses of their countrymen by the possession and presentation of high and noble principles, but on the number it could pass through the matriculation! (Hear, hear.) This was the bane of education, and the only thing which could be put forward to justify the view of examinations taken by the people concerned was that if they did not apply the vulgar tests, if they did not have examinations, the swarm of those who attempted the higher studies without competence, without capacity to receive true instruction, would increase more and more, and it was desirable that a sifting process should take place at some period or other. He thought it ought to take place at a comparatively low stage. The first condition of effective knowledge was contented ignorance. People must be taught to be contented if they were not fitted for the higher education; not to have higher education wasted upon them, but to make themselves good and efficient members of society, only on a different plane. It might be said there were many millions of persons in India who were capable of being extremely useful members of society, but who wasted their energies on attempting that for which they were not fitted. (Hear, hear.) Therefore the sifting process ought to be applied at an early stage. The number of those who received the higher education ought to be considerably limited, but those who did receive it should be taught much more thoroughly and brought more intimately into contact with the minds of their teachers.

Then, another observation that occurred to him was that the teachers who went from England to India ought to have a better-formed theory than at present was quite common of the duties they owed to society, to their country, and to the Government. (Hear, hear.) It was not because

a young man had done well in his examinations at Oxford or Cambridge that he was fitted to take the immense responsibility of educating the people of India. He ought to feel strongly what his duties to England were, and what his duties to India were, and, above all, what his duties to the Almighty, who had placed him in the world with this immense responsibility, were, and until he had formed a settled theory and felt he was competent to carry out the great functions he was assuming he ought never to take them up.

Then, those who received the education that was dispensed in India—he believed with the highest possible motives by the members of the Education Department and by the members of the several Governments—those who benefited by that instruction and were brought into contact with the rich treasures of European thought in the European languages, ought to feel it their duty not to be mere silent recipients of that instruction. They who had benefited so much by this European instruction were bound themselves to be not only quiescent disciples, but apostles in their teaching. It was the duty of every one who received the higher education in India to become himself an active centre of enlightenment, a kind and generous and considerate leader of his people into the ways of light, and a source of illumination for all those departments in which he himself had received illumination at an earlier time. If teachers from England and teachers and pupils who grew up in India and attained an eminent position would bear in mind the importance—the imperative nature—of their duty both to the Government of India and to their people and to mankind at large, he believed a great deal less would be heard of the political unrest, which was in a large measure due to the defective appreciation of the duties which men owed one to another in all the various phases of their mutual relations.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, enough is a feast and more is waste, and I am not going to ask anybody else to speak, and I am not going to speak myself. I had a few remarks to make which were pretty much on the lines of the most interesting speech made by Sir Lepel Griffin. But this evening I merely wish to say that I think Sir Raymond West rather misunderstood what was meant by Sir Lepel Griffin when he talked of economizing with regard to higher education. He meant no more than did Sir Raymond West in the latter part of his speech, where he advised that those who were not capable of acquiring the benefits of higher education should be content to do without it. With regard to the general policy of State education in India, I entirely agree with Sir Raymond West. We must give the people of India the very best education we can, higher, and secondary, and primary education, and alike scholastic and technical instruction, whatever the results may be. Sir Raymond West referred to a pertinent remark attributed to Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone on this point; and I shall never forget the applause which greeted Sir Alexander Grant on quoting that remark in a public lecture he once gave in the Bombay Town Hall. I have always held the same view myself. We have no desire to hold India when once the people of India can hold it themselves. But I know the people of India, and I know it will be a

long time, and, for us, practically a dateless time, before they will hold India for themselves.

With regard to Professor Welinkar, he has given us a most interesting and suggestive lecture, and the wide scope of his remarks directly contributed to the success of the discussion, and a successful discussion such as we have had to-night is as valuable and important a part of the proceedings of these meetings as the paper before them itself. I have to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Welinkar for his admirably planned, and admirably written paper, and I will call on you all to second me by acclamation. (Applause.)

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, January 27, 1908, at 4 o'clock p.m., a paper was read by C. W. Whish, Esq., L.C.S. (retired), on "Some Lessons from History on the Problems of Indian Administration. C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E., occupied the chair. There were present amongst others: Rt. Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., G.C.I.E.; Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Hon. John Harris, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, Mr. F. H. Brown, Rev. A. C. Taylor, M.A., Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. A. Rolls, Miss Pennington, Mrs. Grose, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. B. Dubé, Mr. S. O. Dass, Miss A. L. Major, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. P. L. Misra, Mrs. E. Rosher, Miss J. D. Westbrook, Mr. Edward Grout, Mr. Gerald Ritchie, Mr. M. A. Hafiz, Mr. J. Prendergast, Miss F. Winterbottom, Miss A. Smith, Mrs. Pascoli, Miss Beck, Miss Chapman Hand, Miss Applegarth, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Kanwa Narain, Mr. R. C. Sundery, Mr. A. Hoon, Mr. E. B. Howell, Mr. W. Palliser, Miss Stewart, Mr. W. L. Brown, Mr. Havelock Scholars, Mr. S. H. Ahmad, and Mr. J. B. Pennington, acting Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: Ladies and Gentlemen, I dare say some in this room already have the pleasure of being acquainted with the gentleman who is going to read us a paper, but for the benefit of those who have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Whish I have, in accordance with the usual custom at our meetings, to say a few words by way of introducing him. Mr. Whish was a member of the Indian Civil Service; he went to India in the year 1871, and served during twenty-five years in the North-West Provinces, with distinction. Since his retirement he has devoted himself to a great extent to literature. This is not the first occasion on which he has come before us as an author. I am not sure that he has ever read a paper in this room before, but his works are known. For instance, on a previous occasion he wrote on "Reform and Progress in India," and those who take in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* will see in this month's number a notice of Mr. Whish's last production. The title of the book is rather a long one; it is in three volumes, on: "Reflections on some Leading Facts and Ideas of History: their meaning and Interests. The Ancient World. An Historical Sketch, and Comparative Chart of Principal Events." The third volume, I notice, is the "Græco-Roman World; or, The Struggle of East and West," in which eight chapters are devoted to India. Mr. Whish, therefore, comes before us with credentials as a historian and as an observer, and, as I might say, an historic philosopher. The paper he is going to read us will, I am sure, prove of great interest, though we may not all agree with his conclusions. With these few introductory remarks I will no longer stand between you and the lecturer, but I will ask Mr. Whish to favour us with his paper (Applause).



The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry that the Secretary was not able to obtain some distinguished gentleman to take the chair on this occasion—somebody who might have been qualified to speak with authority on the great questions with which Mr. Whish has dealt, and the stimulating suggestions he has made in the excellent paper he has read to you. So many people were out of Town, and, I am afraid, had other engagements, that no one could be found who would have been capable of making you such an address as the subject deserves ; but being in the chair on this occasion, it is my privilege to make a few remarks upon the paper which we have had read to us. I think no one will dispute the main proposition that the study of history is one well worthy of our attention. We see many books produced nowadays, like Harmsworth's "History of the World," and the Historians' "History of the World," which show that there is a demand, even in this material age, for the study of history. These books would not be published if there were not such a demand, and if it were not found that practical people nowadays derive lessons from them which they would be sorry to miss. Many excellent things have been said of history: "Histories make men wise," said Bacon. Macaulay said: "History is philosophy teaching by examples." On the other hand, he also said: "History is sometimes fiction and sometimes theory;" and many critics have spoken contemptuously of history. I was reading the other day of a remark of the great Sir Robert Walpole, who, when Prime Minister, said: "Do not read to me history, for it is all false." However, the general verdict of mankind is that there is much benefit to be derived from the study of history ; at the same time there are limitations to this excellent principle, and the first point is that we should be sure of our facts. History, when based upon facts which are not trustworthy, is of very doubtful value. The next point is that, when we are comparing sets of circumstances, ancient and modern, we should be sure that the conditions under which the events occurred in ancient times, and are occurring in modern times, are somewhat similar, to say the least. Also, I think it should be borne in mind that the connexion of cause and effect must be established between the circumstances with which you are dealing. Events which occurred merely subsequently to other events are not necessarily their consequences. These are bald truths, but I think that in all study of history they have to be borne in mind, and we should keep them fresh before us lest our imagination run away with us.

Now, turning to the paper before us, I believe that Mr. Whish will not care for me to enlarge, as you will not care for me to dwell, upon the lessons he has suggested from the history of China, Egypt, or Assyria. I rather fancy that Mr. Whish does not attach much importance to them, and regards them himself as being hardly relevant to the main point at issue ; but what he does lay stress upon is the parallel to be drawn between the history of the Roman Empire and the Government of India. Now, that is rather an important parallel, and I believe I am right in saying that various views have been held upon it. There are some who attach great importance to it, but I am sure I have read in some important and

authoritative work—the name of which I cannot remember at the moment—a very different view of it, which holds that there is, in fact, very little value to be attached to it. There is one consideration to be borne in mind with regard to this parallel, and that is that a great many things have happened since the Roman Empire existed. We know as a fact that it broke up about A.D. 364—the division between the East and the West; but since then a great many things, I say, have happened—events in the world's history which have left their mark upon the ages. I do not pretend to give an exhaustive list, but there are a few circumstances to which I should like to allude—for instance, the spread of Christianity, the rise and spread of Islam, the revival of learning, the invention of printing, the invention of gunpowder. Then, take events in history—for instance, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the discovery of America, the discovery of many things in science, the French Revolution, Colonial expansion, and, of course, what is going on all the time, the development of the human intellect. Now, all these matters must materially affect the way in which the problems of ancient history must be, and will be, regarded. Then, again, we have to remember that the Roman Empire after all ended in collapse. What the exact causes of that collapse were may be open to discussion. In the last book that I have seen on the subject there were some six causes given—namely, the foundation of Constantinople, Christianity, slavery, the pauperization of the Roman proletariat, the destruction of the middle classes by fiscal oppression of the tax-payer, and, lastly, barbarous finance. Those are all very important matters in themselves, and it rather appears to me that the Roman Empire not only suggests pictures for our imitation, but also suggests many things for us to avoid. When I say “us,” I am speaking quite generally of people in modern times. As applied only to India, we have the lessons that Mr. Whish has derived from the parallel of the Roman Empire, and he has taken them under three or four more or less important headings; and if I sometimes agree with his conclusions, and sometimes with his facts, I cannot say that I always agree with his facts, or always agree with the conclusions that he derives from them. For instance, when he is dealing with the great point of the Roman domination in Greece, his argument, which I have taken some pains to study, is that the Roman Bureaucrats had a great knowledge of the Greek language and customs; then he goes on to say that Greece was miserable under her Roman governors; then his conclusion is that Indian civilians should study the vernacular languages much more perfectly. Well, I am entirely with him in his conclusion, though his argument is curious. Whether his facts are right or wrong, I am not prepared to say, but his conclusion that Indian civilians should study the Indian languages in the vernacular much more than they do I am entirely disposed to agree with, and I have enunciated the same view in this room on a previous occasion. Whether their want of adequate knowledge is owing to the pressure of work, or what the causes may be, I do not know; but it is a very difficult question, not to be decided in a moment. I think it is a very serious political question. When it is suggested that this is the cause of unrest in India, I do not think we can go so far as to

agree to that suggestion ; but it is certainly a very important thing that the civilians who administer the country should be thoroughly well acquainted with the language used in their courts in India, and in which they ought to be able to converse freely with all the people of the country.

Mr. Whish's next point was the effect of the Roman Empire on Gaul. The success of the Romanization of Gaul, I understand, he based chiefly on what he calls the Imperial Cult—the Emperor-worship, especially the worship of the great man, Julius Cæsar. Well, it is rather a large order to draw a parallel between the Roman administration of Gaul and the English government of India. One thing is the great difference between the climate of Gaul and that of India. Then, the distance between Rome and Gaul was nothing very great. The Roman postal communications were excellent ; they were maintained in very good order ; there was an excellent service of relays of horses, so that the Governor could travel to and fro between Gaul and Roman territory in really a very few days. Now, no one can say that is exactly the case with India. India has been brought much nearer to England, but the climate is a very serious consideration ; and the distance between India and England is certainly much greater than the distance between Rome and Gaul ever was. Other points may occur to other gentlemen, but those occur to me as being some of the main radical differences to be weighed in drawing a parallel between the Roman Empire and Gaul, and England and the Indian Empire.

Then, towards the end of his paper Mr. Whish, after repeating the importance of the knowledge of the language, suddenly darts off on the latest suggested reform for the internal administration of India. I think he alluded to Sir Bamfylde Fuller's article in the *Nineteenth Century* a short time ago, in which a suggestion was made that India should be partitioned off into about eighteen or twenty distinct Commissionerships. From that suggestion Mr. Whish has pointed out that certain desirable results, one to five, as enumerated by him, should follow. It seems to me that several of these results which, it is said, would follow from Sir Bamfylde Fuller's proposals are already in existence. The first would be, he says : "A *corps d'élite* for the highest administrative appointments in India would naturally grow up, which would attract all the best talent of England." I have heard it said for the last forty years that the Civil Service of India is already a *corps d'élite* ; and I fail to see that anything special would arise, or that anything more could be done in that direction, by carving up India into eighteen Chief Commissionerships instead of the number of Provinces it now contains. Also, he goes on to say : "The Indian people would come into contact, at least in the higher grades of the Service, with only the best class of Europeans." That may be so, but I do not see that that would be the *sequitur* of the suggestion which is before the meeting. Then he goes on to say : "The persons selected for the above appointments might make India their home, but would always have one or more 'understudies,' trained personally by themselves, with whom they could safely leave their charges when on a visit to England." I do not know that I quite follow the idea. Whether he means that certain civilians should live in India and stay there the rest of their lives, however old they

may become, and occasionally run home to England, I do not quite understand. I do not see how you would get a different or a better class of persons to join the Civil Service under such an arrangement in India than you do now. Then he says that another advantage would be the satisfactory selection of persons really fitted to be members of an Imperial Council of Notables. I fail to see why the division of India into eighteen or twenty Chief Commissionerships would facilitate the selection of an Imperial Council of Notables any more than the proposals which are now under consideration, and are likely to be adopted in India in the early future. I should think the steps that are being taken to formulate arrangements for the selection of a Council of Notables are as likely to be successful as the partition of India into eighteen or twenty Chief Commissionerships. But let us reflect on what an impracticable suggestion it is. If there has been all this "row"—to use a common word—about the partition of one Province, it is appalling to think what a disturbance there would be if the idea were really seriously to be considered of dividing India into eighteen Chief Commissionerships. It seems to me that it is one of those suggestions, put forward without adequate consideration, to which really no practical importance can be attached.

While I have said so much in criticism of the paper before us—I hope not too severely—I do think there are certain points on which Mr. Whish's suggestions deserve the fullest consideration. He says: "It might be possible for our reformers to think out a system of bestowing a kind of *jus civitatis* on all Indians who had proved themselves worthy of the boon." Now, that I think is a very excellent idea, and likely to be a very fruitful one. The other day I came across a passage in a leading article in the *Times*, which I will with your permission read to you, as it seems to me to be very relevant to the present point. The *Times* said: "Mr. Fletcher Vane points out very justly that, if this Empire is to be an Empire in anything but name, its various parts must arrive at some common understanding on important matters which concern them all, and that the question of coloured races is of all such matters the most important. Readers of Gibbon know that a great merit of the Roman Empire was that it had one uniform system of law, and one uniform citizenship which overrode all other distinctions, such as of race. But in the British Empire there are at present no such well-defined rights of citizenship, and to make matters worse, it is often difficult for a British subject to know exactly on what footing he may be in various parts of the British dominions."

Now, that I think is a very serious and a very important matter, which fully deserves the deepest and most thorough examination. We are all aware of the treatment that has been meted out to the British Indians in the Transvaal; but I do not propose to go into that question at any length; it has been thoroughly discussed in this room not very long ago. I think it is obvious that if there were any form of British citizenship which obtained throughout the length and breadth of the Empire it would not be open to the Colonials to object to the presence of British Indians, nor would it be found that the interests of the British Indians would be in opposition to those of the Colonials. It seems to me that it is an idea



that is likely, if thoroughly worked out, to be very fruitful in producing a *modus vivendi* between the many races who are subjects of the British Crown.

Of course it may be said that the whole of the Government of India is a sort of experiment. That has been long ago noticed, and, no doubt, in many features it is a great anomaly; but, as Mr. Morley has pointed out in a Budget speech, and in his speech at Arbroath, it is quite impossible for modern ideas to be transported from England into India merely as a process of logic. All the traditions of the East, the variety of races, the difference of religion, and the difference of ideas in every respect, prevent anything of the sort being done. Mr. Morley, speaking at Arbroath on October 21, 1907, said: "That whatever is good in the way of self-government for Canada must be good for India. In my view that is the most concise statement that I can imagine, and the grossest fallacy in all politics. I think it is the most dangerous, I think it is the hollowest, and, I am sorry to say, the commonest of all the fallacies in the history of the world in all stages of civilization. Because a particular policy or principle is true and expedient and vital in certain definite circumstances, therefore it is equally true and vital in a completely different set of circumstances—a very dangerous and gross fallacy. . . . Where the historical traditions, the religious beliefs and the racial conditions are all different—I do not want to be arrogant or insolent, but I say that to transfer by mere logic all the conclusions that you apply to one case to the other is the height of political folly, and I for one will never lend myself to that doctrine."

I would conclude by reverting for one brief instant to the remark with which I began, that it is important in drawing any general conclusions from the history of the Roman Empire with regard to the Government by England of India to be sure of your facts, and to be sure that the conclusions, before being applied in practice, are such as may be reasonably drawn, not only from the facts, but from the peculiar relations which exist between the countries as they are at present. Ancient history is all very well, and very excellent in its way, but we have to look at things from the modern point of view, and therefore the final word is that in all ideas and suggestions for changes in the Government of India we should go very slow. It is very easy to make a mistake, and, as Mr. Whish says, the avoidance of injudicious action is perhaps better than making such mistakes.

I will now ask any gentleman who desires to do so to address the meeting. (Applause.)

The HON. JOHN HARRIS thought that the Chairman had been a little severe with Mr. Whish. All study was, like experiments, full of comparison, and in comparing one nation with another the comparison could not be an absolutely exact one. If all science had its origin in the comparison of things which differed a little, it was rather from the differences than from the likenesses that truth appeared. The Roman Empire was geographically infinitely more varied than India, for it was impossible to have a more compact country than India. The two portions of the Roman Empire, whose study of late years had been most interesting to Englishmen, were Britain and Asia Minor. If they studied the works of Sir William Ramsay,



who had travelled over the greater part of Asia Minor, and made many excavations, and deciphered many ancient inscriptions, they would find many facts threw light on the history of India. In Asia Minor Sir William Ramsay found people worshipping the Emperor in the way that the weaker Gauls worshipped the Emperor, and, as Mr. Whish had described, he found inscriptions indicating that the Emperor's tenants, wishing to obtain favour and promotion and have their rents lowered, had bound themselves to persecute the Christians. From that sort of people no good could arise, and if he might give a word of advice to his Hindu friends it would be: do not trample on the unfortunate missionary for no fault. (Laughter.) On the other hand, to the south of the district described, and in the mountains, lived that manly people the Isaurians, whose bravery for many centuries preserved their country from the invader; these had always protected the Christians.

He had recently been staying in Scotland, in the neighbourhood of the old Roman wall, with a friend who had had one of the forts excavated, and it contained a stone mentioning the name of the people who had garrisoned it. They were the people who had fought against the Batavi at the great insurrection which Mr. Whish had alluded to. Those people were independent, and as the Romans weakened these people took their own line, and he believed the inhabitants of the south-east of Scotland were descended from them. They and the Batavi were the strongest races in the Roman Empire. They had recently seen descendants of the latter race conquered, who had become faithful English citizens. But they objected to the introduction of Hindoos on the same ground that the Australians did. The only answer that could be made was that we in England were very sorry for it and must try to find other places for the Hindoos to go to. Two hundred and fifty millions had been expended by England in conquering the nation to which he referred, and all England had got for it was the right of Englishmen to vote. The British Empire was founded on compromise, and he did not think they could at present ask for rights for the Indians, but must appeal to the better feelings of the people, and also try to plant Indians elsewhere in Africa.

MR. B. DUBE said it seemed to him that the lecturer had gone too much into ancient history. From the point of view of the conqueror, whose object was to keep hold of a country as long as possible, it might perhaps be desirable to study the lessons of the past empires; but it seemed to him it was absolutely necessary to consider the modern movements which had come into existence. It was not exclusively the heritage of the white people that they should have civilizing institutions in the West, and say that such institutions could not exist in the East. In Persia, and to some extent in China, there were clear indications that the people wanted to have a voice in the administration of their country, and it was therefore absurd to put forward that in India the cult of Emperor-worship would command the respect of any sensible educated man. He was not ignorant of the fact that one of the most respected of the Indian Maharajahs had said that he wanted to see some member of the English Royal Family made the Viceroy of India; but possibly the reason for that

was that the Maharajahs of India did not like that a commoner of England, an ordinary politician, should come out and domineer over them, and because they would much rather associate with a member of the Royal Family; but to say that the Emperor-cult would find favour with the people was to his mind absurd at the present time. It was to him a matter of regret that Mr. Whish had not referred to the history of the Mohammedans in India, who had founded an Empire that commanded the respect and reverence of Hindus and Mohammedans alike. A Mohammedan ruler who lived in India all his life surrounded himself with Hindu and Mohammedan statesmen and artists, etc.; but in the case of the Viceroy, if he was a member of the Royal Family he would have an English suite, and all kinds of things would be sent out from England for the purpose of furnishing his residence, and at no point would he come in contact with the natives of the country. In view of the modern development of human feelings and ideals it seemed to him the sentiment of Emperor worship was entirely out of date in India. Mr. Whish might more profitably have taken the case of China, where men of all sorts qualified themselves by passing competitive examinations to hold high offices of State; but Mr. Whish, instead of advocating a system of that kind, suggested the dividing of India into a number of Commissionerships and importing the Commissioners from England. It was a matter of regret to him that Mr. Whish had not recommended that Indians should be, as in China, trained to hold responsible offices, so that a time might come when they should displace Englishmen in those offices. The suggestion made that Englishmen should make their home in India was certainly a commendable one, as they would then be able to see what sort of life Indians led, and how the Europeans or Eurasians took advantage of the natives, and that would certainly increase the bond between the Indians and the English. The Indians could very profitably take part in the municipal self-government, but the institution is hardly worth working for unless real freedom of discussion and full executive control were given to the Municipal Commissioners.

MR. WILLIAM IRVINE thought that Mr. Whish, as usual, had shewn extensive reading and made at the same time a most extraordinarily wide survey of historical precedents. He had ended with a rather bold attempt to apply these to the circumstances of a very different country. Personally he had a dislike to historical parallels, as they were generally misleading. He considered he had some right to say so in the present instance, because he had devoted many years of his life to studying history in its sources. It is true that we may learn what people said took place long ago, but we could never know the full story; and to apply those imperfectly known bygone facts to other imperfectly known facts of the present day, and to draw conclusions from such a comparison, was an exceedingly venturesome undertaking. From the very wideness of Mr. Whish's theories and the extent of his historical survey, it was extremely difficult to fix absolutely upon the lessons he wished us to derive from his paper, or to what conclusions he wished to point. If we were to generalize from the last speaker's remarks, the question before us is whether the Englishman

should clear out of India or whether he should remain. That seemed to be the ultimate fact at the bottom of his argument, the only alternatives presented being whether the English should gradually withdraw, or whether they should withdraw at once and leave India to its own devices. In his (Mr. Irvine's) opinion this presentment of the case was not a matter of present politics. He thought that on both sides of the ocean we were in too great a hurry, more especially the Indians; and it struck him, even after the many years that had elapsed since he had left that country, how very different the attitude towards these things was in India compared to what it was in England. These extreme views were held in England chiefly by untravelled, uninstructed politicians of one political party, or by young members of the Indian community studying over here. The latter came over at much sacrifice to themselves, and shewed an extreme desire to imitate the English, including our democratic institutions. He admired their perseverance and, for their own purposes, their exceeding cleverness; but at the same time, having spent twenty-five years in India, it struck him that they and their friends in England had got their perspective all wrong. The few thousands who had made the sacrifice of coming over to England, when they went back were not the only leaders of India even at the present day. There was a much larger number of persons of equal mental capacity who did not share their anti-English views. Nor could we leave out of account the dumb millions for whom the English considered themselves trustees. Circumstances had thrown this duty upon the English. The millions to whom he referred did not edit papers or make speeches or attend Congresses, and therefore it struck him, taking a broad view of the situation, that the views of radical politicians in England were utterly out of focus. Many grievances were brought before them in England, and even assumed to be of vast importance, which in India were really of very little significance. Things were being pushed much too fast. The last speaker had said that they should not look to the past; but any person of intelligence looking at the past in India would be certain of one thing, that democratic institutions had never had any existence; and to suppose that they had already taken root there and required immediate development was really a sort of political madness. Indian institutions are based on a system of rigid class-exclusiveness unknown in any other part of the world; and any democratic constitution is inconceivable while such a system survives. The case of the Persian Parliament had been instanced; but did anybody believe that that was a solid institution, that it was going to last? For his own part, the only likely result he thought would be that the strong man armed would soon appear, and that the state of that nation would then be worse (from the democratic point of view) than it had been before. The last speaker objected to the fetish of "Emperor-worship" and denied its existence in India. But it is the class of educated agitators in India who have forced this question to the front. It is just the story of Irish agitation over again. Whether it is their real feeling or not, the Indian politicians choose to say that they are loyal subjects to the King-Emperor. Their application of this phrase consists in discrediting every act of the Englishman on the spot, who is, after all, the King-Emperor's appointed

representative, or still better, the deputed agent of the English people. What is such lip-loyalty but a veiled name for disloyalty? The last speaker seemed to think that Englishmen in India drew a great deal of pay and did very little for it. That was not quite the Englishman's view of the situation; he found the climate irksome, the work heavy, and the reward only moderate.

With regard to the proposal to divide India up into eighteen or twenty Chief Commissionerships, he did not see how that was going to alter the situation at all. Where would Mr. Whish get his *corps d'élite*, and why would they be more the élite than the persons who at present offered themselves? Were they to be purely Europeans and not Indians at all? There is much talk just now of decentralization. The only true decentralization would be to make the district the unit of administration and abolish every authority above it, except, perhaps, the Central Government. Men could then be judged by results; they would be unhampered and forced to conciliate the inhabitants of their district. But the whole trend of administration, both in the East and in England, is towards more and more interference from the central power. For that reason alone, even Mr. Whish's proposal for twenty small provinces will never be carried; the central authorities guard their power too jealously for that to be expected. The root of the matter was that they had a form of government in England which was not in sympathy with that of government in India. On the other hand, if they were to have the English form of government applied to India, the best thing would be for them to make their bow and tell the rising generation in India that they might deal with their own affairs as they liked best, and that we would repudiate all responsibility for the result. A dependency ruled democratically by the dependent people is almost unthinkable; either the over-lord must rule, or the dependency must declare its independence. If the English democracy forced representative government on us in India, he thought withdrawal would be the most satisfactory course, were it not that by force of circumstances the English had what most of them considered a sacred trust, one that had been forced upon them against their will by preceding generations. Under such circumstances they did not feel that as responsible beings they had any right to clear out of the country. If they ever did retire from it they knew from the past what would happen within a week; and he therefore boldly said that to advocate the introduction into India of a system modelled on English democratic institutions was to talk irresponsible nonsense. (Applause.)

MR. WHISH, in replying on the discussion, said that with reference to the Roman Empire it was, in his opinion, a total misunderstanding of history to say it had failed in any way. It came to an end when its work was done. It was difficult to explain what was meant by Emperor-worship. The idea was not exactly worship of the Emperor, but of a system, of the peace and culture diffused by Rome. It had been said that nothing moved in the world which not Greek; but he thought it was far more correct to say that nothing moved in the world which was not Roman. Rome was the motive force which spread Greek culture all over the world. The law of all civilized nations was more or less founded upon Roman law, and Rome



was in every sense the Eternal City ; as "Romania,"\* if not as "Roma," it never came to an end. Certainly the Western Empire came to an end, but when the Turk came in the European States-system took its place, and he would urge upon Indian patriots to take the same view of India—evolution would produce some suitable future for the country. If Englishmen and Indians would co-operate for the benefit of the country, lay aside their prejudices and try to see things from each other's point of view a little more, they could bring about the same result. It seemed to him that the discussion that evening, amicable as it had been, had terribly emphasized the great difficulty that existed in this respect, and it seemed as if they could not "get into each other's skin," so to speak.

With regard to the proposal about the small Chief Commissionerships, he knew it had been very severely criticized by the Indian Press, but he did not think they quite understood what was meant, or perhaps he had not made his meaning clear. The object of that system would be that the Commissioners should do as Drusus, Germanicus, and Claudius did in Gaul, and make their home in India, identify themselves with the people, and get all the traditions of the country into their blood, so to speak. Let them consider the difference between the idea of a Collector or Commissioner being in a district or a division for a couple of years, and a man going out for the whole of his life and remaining always in a Chief Commissionership, perhaps remaining there for thirty or even forty years, and being succeeded by people he had trained himself. Those people would know India and identify themselves with India. It had been asked how this *corps d'élite* would be chosen. They might be chosen on account of their great desire to understand the East ; because of their love for Oriental literature, Oriental art, or the Oriental religions, by their appreciation of, say, such a glorious religion as Buddhism, by means of which India had established her claim to be considered perhaps the greatest benefactor of the human race. Those would be the people who would be selected, and one of the objects of their going out to India would be to train Indians to work with them. They would excuse his being a little pained at the want of appreciation of what he meant, but the object would be the political education of trained Indians to work together with Englishmen for the good of India. Then, just as Greece passed into Rome, and Rome passed into the European States'-system, which was something far better than the Empire, so would the present British Government of India eventually pass into what was most suitable to succeed it. That was the great idea he had endeavoured to bring out in his paper. One speaker had said that no conclusion had been reached, but he only wanted them to study history, and to do in concert what was best for that great trust, (as it had been well called,) that had been laid upon them. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN : Gentlemen, as there are no more speakers who wish to address us, it is my privilege to ask you to accord a vote of thanks to Mr. Whish for his valuable, interesting and suggestive paper, which, as far as I am concerned, has certainly given me new ideas and stimulated my thoughts in a way I can never forget. I will ask you, therefore, to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Whish for his interesting paper. (Applause.)

\* A fifth-century word for Rome as an *eternal influence*.



## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Council of the East India Association was held at the offices, 3 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., on March 13 at 3 p.m., in pursuance of a notice duly convening it, in order to pass a resolution as to the services of the late Chairman and a vote of condolence with his widow and family, when the following members were present: Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., in the chair, Sir Lesley Charles Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, K.C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Sir Hugh Shakespear Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Sir Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Colonel Charles Edward Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., and Mr. J. B. Pennington acting as Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Letters of regret and appreciation from the President, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Gerald Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., Right Hon. Sir Joseph West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., G.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Roe, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P., Mr. A. K. Connell, Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., and Mr. F. Loraine Petre, were read and recorded.

On the motion of Mr. T. H. Thornton, seconded by Sir Lesley Probyn, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"The Council of the East India Association desire to place on record their deep sense of the loss sustained by the lamented death of their Chairman, Sir Lepel Henry Griffin, K.C.S.I., on March 9.

"After a most distinguished career as civil servant of the Crown in India—in the course of which he filled the high posts of Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies, Chief Political Officer in Afghanistan, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, and Resident at Haidarabad—and by his conduct and published writings gave ample evidence of a sincere regard for the interests of the Princes, Chiefs, and people of India, he accepted in 1894 the Chairmanship of this Council.

"As Chairman he carried out the objects of the Society with ability and earnestness, making the Association a centre at which important matters affecting India could be debated, and at which Indian students could meet Englishmen interested in the subjects dealt with. At these meetings he presided with dignity and tact, and contributed most usefully to the discussions.

"He retained his love for India to the last, and only recently took a prominent part, as representing the Society, in pressing upon the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India the claims of British-Indian subjects for more considerate treatment in the Transvaal.

"His unexpected death will be deplored by multitudes of friends in India as well as England, and by none more than by his colleagues on this Council."

It was further resolved that a copy of the above resolution, suitably

engrossed on vellum, together with a record of the proceedings, be sent to Lady Griffin, with the expression of the Council's sincere condolence.

In moving the resolutions, Mr. THORNTON said: The unavoidable absence of our president, Lord Reay, devolves upon me a duty which he would have discharged far better than I can hope to do; but in one respect I am, perhaps, better qualified than his lordship to discharge it. I have had the advantage of having served with our deceased friend in the Punjab for nearly eighteen years—between 1861 and 1879—under circumstances which placed me in an excellent position for gauging his ability and character.

For several years he was Under-Secretary to the Punjab Government while I was Secretary, acted for me when I was on furlough, and afterwards when I was acting Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and, on my promotion, succeeded to the post I held. He was an ideal Under-Secretary.

On the present occasion I do not propose to make any lengthened statement regarding our friend's career, for there would not be time to do it justice; moreover, it is already known to most of us, and a very good account of it has appeared in the *Times* of the 11th. I will confine myself to a few personal reminiscences, and especially those which bear upon his character as a sincere friend of the Princes, Chiefs, and people of India.

I well remember his first arrival in the Punjab as Assistant Commissioner. His brilliant powers of conversation and his ready wit at once made him sought for in society; but he soon gave evidence of more solid virtues. He proved himself an effective writer, and, what is less common in the Indian civilian, a fluent speaker, and, despite a somewhat easy-going manner, a man of untiring industry. Candour and outspokenness were other characteristics which sometimes got him into trouble, for when a determined enemy of *humbug* is gifted with powers of incisive speech, he is apt at times to give offence; but he was essentially kind-hearted and generous. His charm of manner, combining keen intelligence and bonhomie, and his straightforwardness soon won him the respect and confidence of Indians of all classes, and he was consequently at a very early stage of his service selected by the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Montgomery, for the special duty of preparing a readable account of all the principal families of the Punjab, and subsequently of the Rulers of its Feudatory States. This work—a work of immense research—he accomplished at different times in a masterly fashion, and his "*Punjab Chiefs*" and "*Punjab Rajas*" became standard works and brought their author to the front.

Meanwhile he proved himself an excellent District Officer, and in his judicial capacity, (for in those days the judicial and executive functions of a District Officer were not so separated as they are now,) he delivered some admirable judgments on questions affecting complicated family settlements and the like.

Early in his career he made the acquaintance of the principal of the Lahore College—the late Dr. Leitner—a remarkable personality, and the acquaintance ripened into a friendship which lasted till the latter's death.

These two undertook a crusade against what was known as the "Macaulay Scheme" of Higher Education, which had been hitherto adopted in the University of Calcutta, under which high education was to be conveyed in the English language only—the idea being that there would be a downward filtration of thought and knowledge through the educated few to the less educated, and so on till it reached the masses.

But the downward-filtration theory proved untrue. What happened (so at least it was contended) was this : while the University students became half-anglicized, their own literature, and with it their ancient code of manners and respectful bearing, became more or less neglected or despised.

Griffin and his friend denounced this system, and pressed for its revision so as to provide for high education in matters of Western culture being conveyed through the medium of the vernacular, and honours being awarded for high proficiency in Eastern literature and learning as well as English.

The movement was strongly opposed by the University authorities of Calcutta, but was greatly appreciated by the natives of the Punjab, and received the warm support of the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald McLeod. Ultimately, with the sanction of the Government of India, a University College based upon these principles was established at Lahore, and was expanded a few years later into a full-blown University.

It has been sometimes alleged that, while Sir L. Griffin cultivated the friendship of the upper classes, he cared little for the welfare of the lower. I am in a position to emphatically contradict this ; he took the deepest interest in the welfare of the peasantry (whom he greatly admired) and the townsmen, as of other classes.

Then he was a man of singular generosity and a true friend, and strenuously fought the battles of those whom he believed to be unfairly dealt with. He was no sycophant, but he won the highest esteem of five Lieutenant-Governors of widely differing character—Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Donald McLeod, Sir Henry Durand, Sir Henry Davies, and Sir Robert Egerton.

Of course he had faults—who has not?—but the general impression of those who knew him will be—*must* be—that he was just as we have endeavoured to describe him—a man, that is to say, of rare ability and wit, with the pen of a ready writer, a felicitous speaker, a man of great energy, of great generosity and kindness of heart, free from anything like sycophancy, a true friend, a warm lover of his country, taking at the same time a deep interest in the welfare of the Princes, Chiefs, and people with whom he had lived and worked so long in India.

It has pleased God to take him from us unexpectedly, but his record of good work remains ; he will be lovingly remembered by many friends in India as well as England, and his published writings will bear testimony to his ability as an author, his care as an investigator, and his enthusiasm for the people among whom he worked ; but his voice and presence will be sorely missed, and the words of his favourite author Tacitus on the death of a melodious and fluent speaker—"Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est"—are sadly applicable to him who has gone.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## THE BRITISH IN INDIA.

SIR,

IN these days, when rumours of unrest have aroused in the mind of the British Public unusual interest in Indian affairs, we hear much discussion of our policy, and of the conduct of our resident countrymen towards the natives.

In view of all the new sayings, doings, and goings-on in that great Empire, it is right that we should take stock of our methods and agencies—of which agencies the resident British community is the most important, including as it does all the rest.

But there is a matter of deeper interest to the nation than the *conduct* of that community ; and that is its *quality* ; for according to its quality its conduct and character will be good or bad.

What of the quality ?

This community differs from all the many other British communities in the world. Unlike those in foreign countries, it belongs to the governing race. It does not, like those in our great self-governing Colonies, possess the soil and the sources of wealth ; it does not form a majority of the population, nor is the Government made by and responsible to it. In none of the Crown Colonies is there a population so vast as that of India—seven times that of the British Isles—or so highly civilized ; for Indians compete with us fiercely for employment of all grades—even the highest. The community is not a child of the nation, with a separate life of its own ; but a member—an integral part, small, but important ; for its work in India is to maintain the nation's prestige ; to mould the lives of her children, and to illustrate to the people Christianity—our national religion.

The character of so small a community, numbering only



a quarter of a million all told, of whom 70,000 are children and 50,000 women, is sensibly affected by that of each member, gaining strength from the strong, and losing it through the weak. Its members are closely watched by the people of the land, who outnumber it a thousandfold; and they judge our whole nation by what they see.

In such circumstances, the commonest prudence dictates that we should jealously guard against the entrance into the community of any who are weak or inefficient. Every one such is a weakness; many of them are a peril to the Empire.

In sending out men and women from home, we are careful of this. As a rule they are above the home average-picked citizens.

The Community is in two sections—the Military, whose business is to keep up our prestige of arms; and the Civilian, charged with that which is of equally great importance—our prestige of character. Each of these two sections has 90,000 adult members—men and women.

The Military section is made up almost entirely of men and women from home—pure British—and is fit for its work.

The civilian, on the other hand, is only one-fifth British. Of the remaining four-fifths the bulk are Eurasians—of mixed European and Asiatic descent; and the balance are foreigners. Of the pure British members, some are born and brought up in India. Though it receives some of the British who come out from home, the Civilian section is filled mainly from the body of 70,000 children growing up in the country, about 3,000 of whom every year join its adult ranks. These—Eurasians and pure British alike, who have grown up in the country—are known as the *countryborn*. The majority of the countryborn are reputed to be inefficient. Our nation has therefore to face the disagreeable fact that the body in charge of one of her most valuable possessions—her prestige of character—is composed mainly of “wasters”; which means that the body politic is suffering from a very dangerous malady.



Yet we notice no alarm—no serious effort to get rid of the malady, either in England or in India. How is this?

The indifference in England may be put down to sheer ignorance. People here know only about those who go out from home, some of whom they see returning after many days. Most of them never dream of British citizens who are born and live and die without ever leaving India or seeing England.

In India, where the countryborn are known, the indifference is due to the widespread belief that inefficiency is in their blood, and cannot be cured. The many efforts made to improve them have only tended to confirm this belief; for, while individuals have been trained into good citizens, the general character of the class is unchanged.

From a strictly utilitarian point of view, it would pay the nation well if this majority of "wasters" could be passed quietly into a lethal chamber, and destroyed, as diseased cattle are in England. For not only do they bring us no profit, but every one of them, merely by existing, brings on us heavy loss. But so drastic a remedy is not to be thought of!

Yet what is to be done with this majority in the Civilian section, who are not merely inefficient, but incapable of being made efficient—who cannot be got rid of; who cannot be improved; and who, as they are placed, endanger the safety of our Indian Empire?

There is only one possible way of attacking the evil—that recommended by Dr. Graham.

Dr. Graham denies that inefficiency is in the blood of the countryborn. Environment, he says, has quite as much to do with inefficiency as blood has. Men and women brought up as these have been, in a weakening climate, amid vicious company, learning at every turn to despise and eschew honest labour, cannot but grow up inefficient. He claims that any of the countryborn—any of these now hopeless "wasters"—if taken in time out of

these surroundings, and properly trained, might have grown up an efficient citizen. He declares that the same is true of all the 70,000 children growing up now.

To prove the point, he started, in 1900, the Colonial Homes at Kalimpong, and brought to be trained in them the most hopeless cases he could find. He succeeded. Using with these poor children the methods that answer with the children of the more prosperous, he is getting results as good, and better.

Whether he is right or not it will be impossible to say for certain until a generation has passed away; but the signs are most favourable. He has dipped his bucket into the muddiest and dirtiest pools; drawn forth samples, and to all appearance cleansed them by his methods. He has rudely shaken the doctrine of "hereditary taint," and has demonstrated the power of his chosen cure—"a change of environment."

If this be not a remedy for the malady which has the countryborn in its grip, there is no remedy.

Dr. Graham has shown it to the nation. So far as he could within the limit of his resources, he has demonstrated how the work should be done.

The whole number of children belonging to the community, of an age to be trained at any one time, is 40,000. Not more than 10,000 of these can get a training from their parents, or from any other source of help now existing. Of the 30,000 who must, left unaided, grow up without a training, Dr. Graham has so far been able to take 200; and there are 29,800 still to be dealt with if the malady of inefficiency is to be destroyed at the source.

The cost is prohibitive to the parents. Without the backing of rates, living from hand to mouth, how can they pay for their children being boarded and educated for ten years hundreds of miles away from home?

The work must be done either by the British community in India or by the British Nation.

It is no use asking the former to do the work; for the

work does not belong to them, and they have not the means to do it.

Let us consider. The bread-winners of the community are those who remain of the 130,000 male adult members after deducting the aged, the infirm, the bodily and mentally unfit, paupers, loafers and criminals; 70,000 of them are soldiers.

Now, no one will surely dream of saying that a British soldier—officer or private—because he serves with his regiment in the Punjaub, is under any obligation, legal or moral, not shared by a soldier serving in Edinburgh, to provide out of his scanty pay for the training of poor white and Eurasian children in Calcutta or Madras. And what would be an unfair demand on the worker in the army is an equally unfair demand to make on the worker on the railway, in the factory, mine, shop, bank, law-court, hospital, or tea-garden. The whole community is one of wage-earners, who work hard for what they earn, and are entitled to spend it as they please. If they are under any obligation, it is the same as that which binds the rest of the nation; and they are doing their share, which is more than can be said of the other parts.

As for their means, it is doubtful if by straining their small resources all the solvent members together could provide a training for 1,000 out of the 30,000 children who need help.

As there is but one possible remedy in the field, there is but one agency which can apply it—the British Nation. Can the Nation—will it—take the matter up?

There is no doubt that the British Nation has the means. A task impossible for a community less in number and wealth than the population of Cumberland is light and easy for the whole British Nation. If it will, the nation can. Will it? One would think so; for the nation stands to gain by doing the work—to lose by neglecting it.

It gains in the increased efficiency of the community representing it; in the saving of sons and daughters from

the miserable fate to which so many of them are now doomed ; in the impetus given to the advance of Christianity in India ; and in the increased respect of the natives, with whom the virtue of caring for one's kindred ranks very high.

If the work is neglected, all these gains are reversed, and become losses.

The nation will take the matter up if it can be induced to think ; for it has a sound business instinct and a good heart ; and the cause appeals to both.

But it is not easy to get the nation to think ! We are so busy—so preoccupied—so closely besieged by various claimants for our attention, that, when asked to give consideration to any matter, we look eagerly for some excuse to get rid of it without thought. And we are so sectional !

If this scheme is spoken of, " Scotch !" cries Englishman, Welshman, or Irishman—" Presbyterian !" cries Anglican, Roman, or Methodist, and turns away. The business man buttons up his pockets because it is " charity," forgetting that it is also business ; and the philanthropist because he fears lest it divert subscriptions from his pet schemes. The parochially-minded will not look at a work so far from home, forgetting that a gangrened toe may destroy the whole body.

Much misunderstanding and jealousy would be saved if men would only realize that this is a demonstration, not a complete scheme. He who gave the thought and put it into action is a Scot and a Presbyterian, it is true. He had to be something ! The demonstration had to be wrought out in a Scottish and Presbyterian atmosphere ; for under the wing of a Scottish Presbyterian Mission it came into being.

But the thought is national, not sectional ; and so is the work. Few of the children are Scottish or Presbyterian. The homes are for making, not proselytes, but good citizens !

If—unlike their countrymen in India, who all cordially

combine in supporting the homes—Englishmen, Welshmen, or Irishmen at home are not inclined to support a Scottish institution doing national work ; or if Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, or Baptists would rather not strengthen the arm of a Presbyterian, even in doing such work, let them not turn away. Let them reflect that there is need of a hundred homes larger than this if every child is to have a chance.

Let homes be multiplied, each with its own atmosphere ; let methods be improved upon if possible. If only the children can be rescued from this curse, which is not hereditary, but capable of being removed, that is the main thing. No man will rejoice more heartily than Dr. Graham to see his thought expand in various shapes under many hands, giving to the nation good citizens for "wasters."

The thought is a great one, the work noble, the object wholly desirable. It is therefore no presumption to hope and believe that He who put the thought into the mind of His servant, and guided that servant's zeal, energy, and wisdom to initiate the work, will not suffer the scheme to die ; but will, in His own way and time, bring it to its full development.

I am, etc.,

R. CARSTAIRS.

EDINBURGH,

*March 20, 1908.*



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSION PRESS;  
SHANGHAI.

1. *An English-Chinese Dictionary in the Vernacular of the Hakka People in the Canton Province*, by Rev. D. MACIVER, M.A., English Presbyterian Mission, Wu-king-fu (*viâ* Swatow). This work supplies a long-standing want in the active missionary field of Inner Kwang Tung province. For two generations the Basel Mission manuscript dictionary has been the only available means by which new arrivals in these little-visited parts of China could begin their indispensable studies in this group of dialects. There are also some notes and tables upon the Hakka syllabic system and tones, which the present writer published in the *China Review*, vol. viii., about thirty years ago, with special reference to the Sin-an variety of the Hakka dialect. (The substance of these remarks was repeated by him in the introduction to Giles's Dictionary in 1892.) At that time he had the advantage of the temporary use of Dr. E. J. Eitel's manuscript copy of the Basel Dictionary, which, however, was not supplied with the Chinese ideographs, and was therefore of little use. Mr. MacIver's present dictionary gives all the ideographs for the romanized words where it is possible to give them; but the Hakka dialect in general contains, apart from sub-dialect variants, so many vulgar and characterless words, and has so little popular literature of its own, except in the way of songs and folk-lore (mostly unprinted), that really standard words have shown a greater tendency than usual to slip away from ideographic shackles and corrupt themselves, and thus, in the absence of adequate recording instruments, to lose touch with the recognized standard script. "Hakka" is the Cantonese way of pronouncing the words *K'ê-chia*,

or *K'eh-kia*, of the "mandarin"-speaking Chinese—i.e., the "guest-families," or the "more recent arrivals," as distinct from the *Pun-tei*, or *Pên-ti*, meaning "autochthones"—a name arrogated to themselves by the first batches of Chinese colonists when the south was first annexed over 2,000 years ago. Hakka is spoken over parts of Kwang Tung, Fuh Kien, and Kiang Si provinces, and amongst emigrants from China proper perhaps a third at least of the Hong-Kong Chinese are of Hakka *provenance*, not to mention large numbers in the British, Dutch, and French colonies further south. With the exception of missionaries and Supreme Court interpreters, scarcely any European or American speaks, or critically understands, the principles of the Hakka brogues, which are, however, pure Chinese, and in many ways reminiscent of the general language of China as spoken 2,000 years ago. Consequently, it would be waste of time to enlarge upon the matter here, even if the editor would grant space. Mr. MacIver is entitled to much praise for having carried out his great task so well.

E. H. PARKER.

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THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

2. *Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy, mainly in the Nineteenth Century*, by A. J. SARGENT, M.A. OXON. As may be gathered from the title, this excellent summary is of rather academical than commercial value, and may be characterized as a careful and painstaking study, at second-hand, of much that has already been written by specialists. Busy commercial men will probably turn at once to the latter chapters, which treat of the intricate recent complications in political trade, taxation, concessions, currency, railways, boycotts, "recovery of rights" movements, reforms, and prospects for the future. For the China trader now in the thick of the fight, the "Analysis of Foreign Trade in China," just published by Sir Robert Hart, will serve all practical purposes better than a doctrinal sermon

of this sort, though for the purpose of licking 'Varsity students into something approaching mercantile shape it is, perhaps, an unrivalled book. We start off with John Company, and then proceed to Factory and Nanking Treaty days. Then we come to the Tientsin Treaty, Sir Rutherford's ill-starred Peking Convention, the hang-fire Chefoo Convention, the "Burmese Treaty," Spheres of Influence craze, "Boxer" madness, Japanese wars with China and Russia, etc.; these, together with their several effects upon trade, are nearly, but not quite, all carefully discussed. Sometimes the author, in manipulating his scissors and paste, seems to forget what he has already mentioned, and what he has not. For instance (p. 63), Lord Napier remains suspended in the air, and we are not told of his death, or how it comes that Captain Elliott is suddenly "left in sole control"; the "case of Mr. Innes" (p. 62) is sprung upon us "permiskus-like," as also the mysterious propositions of Sir George Robinson (p. 64). "Who was he?" the general reader will ask. The story of the Opium War is, on the whole, well told, though many important and even essential details are omitted; and it must be confessed by the way that Mr. Sargent has, if his facts are correct, been able to fix more unpleasant responsibility on Lord Palmerston than the public has hitherto been disposed to admit. It is certainly curious that, after an opium war, the text of the treaty providing for compensation should not even mention the word "opium." On p. 105 Mr. Sargent gets decidedly "mixed," and it is not at all plain what is the "strong indictment" he refers to, or who makes it. In the same way, on p. 113, the author seems to be a trifle foggy as to his own reference and meaning when he says, "A mere form of words cannot alter ideas which represent the growth of centuries." What was "the policy of the Viceroy Li" (p. 127), and who and where was he? On pp. 234-5 it seems to be made out that the French obtained the cession of Kwang-chou Bay, and ourselves the extension of Kowloon, before

the Germans started the game of grab at Kiao Chow, whilst the important Japanese war which led up indirectly to this quasi-plundering of prostrate China is scarcely mentioned at all (p. 236). In mentioning these few points where the painstaking author seems to have wearied of his task, or faltered before the painful process of reconsidering and recasting all portions of it which were not quite clear to him, we by no means wish to criticize his book severely or unfavourably. Assuming that its purpose was to start students with some definite ideas, we consider he has succeeded, and it is doubtful if the said students will find anywhere else in the same space so concentrated a dose of doctrinal China trade. The second half is a useful political history even for the commercial man, besides containing some very valuable statistics. The first part is rather ancient history now, and it might well be pared down, at least so far as concerns the extinct aspirations of the fortune-hunters of a century ago. The work will be invaluable for students in the Consular and Customs services. Sir Robert Hart has already ordered 100 copies for the use of the latter. It is hoped that the Foreign Office will purchase copies of the same for British Consulates.—X. Y. Z.

3. *A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1635-1639*, by ETHEL BRUCE SAINSBURY. With an introduction and notes by WILLIAM FOSTER. This calendar deals with a chequered period of the Worshipful Company of Merchants of London Trading in the East Indies, which had existed already for a third of a century. The Company in 1635 had paid no dividend to its subscribers, and was in debt both in India and England, so that discontent was rife. Trade was bad, and salaries were reduced, but gifts to Court officials (including "the King's master cook") were still continued, though other "benevolences" were stopped. In 1635 the Company had to compete with a body of interlopers favoured (through the influence of Endymion Porter) by Charles I. This

privateering association was a serious rival, and the conduct of the King cannot be defended. In 1636 a further infraction was threatened by a proposed colony in Madagascar with Prince Rupert as its leader, but this proved abortive. From 1637 to 1639 the records are missing, and we have (as the introduction points out) to rely on other sources for our knowledge of the Company's dealings with the King, who had become alarmed at the results of his own acts and the fear of supercession in the East by the Dutch. The Company had many grievances—piracy in the East, the almshouse at Blackwall badly managed at home, the powder mills removed from Windsor Forest by royal command (on the ground that they disturbed the royal deer)—and all these can be read in this careful calendar of important historical documents, as well as the doings of one Thomas Smethwike, whose vagaries constitute the comic relief of the book.—A. F. S.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.; LONDON.

4. *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, by ERNEST YOUNG, B.Sc. Third edition. Major Gerini has said in this *Review* (issues of January, 1898, and January, 1899) all that need be said touching the origin, growth, and political history of the Siamese; a list of other important articles upon Siam is also given on p. 112 of the July issue, 1897. Mr. Young, formerly a member of the Educational Department in Bangkok, has had unrivalled opportunities for studying at leisure the daily life of the Siamese; and his work, the first edition of which appeared in 1898, is cast in quite a different mould from all these, being quite a popular, chatty, and easy account of things he has actually seen in the streets, mostly, it is quite evident, in and around Bangkok. with, perhaps, a run to Petchaburi by way of diversion. The writer of these lines has been through nearly all the same scenes, with the exception of Petchaburi, and has had, moreover, the advantage of visiting the petty Siamese States, ruled by Chinese or Siamese Viceroys, lying between



the Burmese frontier and the Straits Settlements, and the Siamese frontiers with Annam. He has pleasure, therefore, in certifying that everything reads strictly in accordance with his own observations; the book is most interesting and readable throughout, and it calls for no mental strain in any effort to follow out learned ethnological or other discussions. It is a beautifully printed work of 400 pages, which one can read through at a single fairly long sitting; the illustrations are numerous and excellent, and the index is sufficiently useful, if a trifle scanty in detail. Perhaps it is "too bad" to quote the late King's imperfect English, word for word, upon p. 4; such references are apt to be as painful as a loud laugh at a public dinner would be when an unfortunate foreigner makes a slip in returning thanks for his health; this particular bit of "wut" might with advantage be left out of the fourth edition when it comes, as it deserves to come. According to the latest official Chinese statistics there are 2,755,000 of their countrymen in Siam; as they rarely take Chinese wives with them, this figure must mean Chinese males and their half-breed offspring. On pp. 9 and 24 Mr. Young seems in considerable doubt what the Chinese population really is, whether it is half, or one-tenth, of the whole population. The Siamese cycle of twelve years, described on p. 92, is by no means peculiar to them; in China it is in daily popular use: for instance, Li Hung-chang once told the writer that he "belonged to chicken," to which the reply was, "I belong to chicken too," and thus each knew the other's age. Professor Chavannes has recently discussed the matter with great erudition, and it seems to be fairly certain that the Chinese derived it from the Tartars over 2,000 years ago. It is quite true (p. 143) that pure Siamese is monosyllabic and "toned," and, it may be added, it is almost certain the Siamese people occupied the greater part of Yün Nan at the dawn of the Christian era. The Shans are Siamese, and so are the Laos; it is simply the distinction between the Greater Thai and the Lesser Thai,

*t'ai* meaning "free." "Siam" is simply the Portuguese *Sciam* or *Shan*. The writer was wandering about the Indo-Chinese and Siamese region just at the time when M. Pavie (p. 223) was making his great barefoot journeys in those parts, and had the pleasure of meeting with one of the Chinese border princes, who was then hesitating whether politically to join France or Siam; in fact, it was this identical man who made the swoop upon Luang Prabang described on pp. 221-2. Mr. Young describes the eating of corpses by vultures (p. 247) as though the "horror" were a hideous local novelty; but the same sight may be witnessed any day at the Parsee "Towers of Silence" just outside Bombay; it is perhaps as speedy and cleanly a way of getting rid of dead bodies as burning them or boxing them up in coffins; the only thing is that Druce cases would not work out so well as this last one has done if evidence had to be pursued into the vulture's stomach. As a nice anecdotal book of travel and wonder, Mr. Young's book may be confidently recommended to all classes, young and old.—E. H. PARKER.

THE CATHOLIC MISSION; YEN-CHOU FU (NEAR CONFUCIUS'S BIRTHPLACE).

5. *Japan's Beziehungen zu China*, by the REV. ALBERT TSCHPE, S.J. Father Tschpe has already distinguished himself by writing valuable historical works upon the ancient Chinese kingdoms of Ts'in (Shen Si), Wu (Kiang Su), and Yüeh (Chêh Kiang), or, rather, upon the semi-barbarous Tartar, (?) Japanese, and Annamese populations, or leading tribes, which, gradually leavened with Chinese civilization, ultimately obtained, so to speak, Chinese citizenship, forced the purer Chinese satrapies or federated principalities to recognize them as political equals, took great part in the disruption of the old feudal system, and each in turn acquired a preponderant influence on the Chinese continent. His earlier works, all of which are of a very high order in merit, were written in French, being connected narrative translations of the disjointed old

Chinese originals, liberally besprinkled with reference notes and vivacious comments of his own. His present work, like that upon the Yang-tsz Delta, is printed in German—fortunately, for the ocular comfort of non-German readers, in Roman instead of in Gothic type. Somehow it seems almost impossible to be either witty or vivacious in German, and consequently the sprightly style so characteristic of his earlier publications gives place to a more matter-of-fact, not to say commonplace, phraseology. Considering that the profoundly learned Jesuit is for the greater part of his time stationed at remote places in the interior, and that the book has been printed with the comparatively slender resources of the Catholic Mission Press at Yen-chou, it would not be fair to lay too great a stress upon the unusually large number of misprints, which we may safely assume the author would never have passed by had he been able to give adequate personal attention to the proof-reading. The earliest Chinese accounts have been ransacked systematically by him—and no others are trustworthy—to show, so far as evidence will take us, of what elements the Japanese nation has been gradually made up ; how it is likely, but by no means proved, that a ruling caste migrated to the islands about 400 B.C. from the above-mentioned semi-Chinese State of Wu, and imposed themselves upon the original stock ; how the petty chieftains (later called *daimiōs*) sent their first missions to China, and thence received their earliest notions of learning and cohesive administration ; how they overshadowed Corea, and gradually developed into a real power under a central Chief or King ; imitated Chinese ways, adopted Confucianism and Buddhism, blossomed out into an empire, scraped up what native traditions they could, rummaged amongst the Chinese histories ; and, thus aided, retrospectively constructed an imaginary ancient dynasty of their own, fully provided with Chinese names and precedents ; finally conquering, progressing, borrowing, and developing, until the period of real history brings them into line with

the other Far Eastern nations who owe their civilization to China. However weak their native history, their modern capabilities are, however, unquestionable. The whole story is very fascinating, but it is little understood in its earliest phases even by the Japanese themselves, who are naturally loath to shake off the fond illusion of their descent from the gods, their semi-divine literature, and their unbroken "records" of 2,500 years. Our author brings his work up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Father Tschepe has done his task conscientiously and well; but he appears to be unaware of the fact that nearly the whole of this ground, at least so far as concerns the period anterior to true history, has already been gone over by various specialist writers, among the less competent by the individual who pens this notice, and this in a series of papers published from about twenty-five years ago down to the year 1891, in the *China Review* and the *Japan Asiatic Society's Journal*.—E. H. PARKER.

THE CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS OF YEN-CHOU FU,  
SHAN TUNG.

6. *Heiligtümer des Konfuzianismus*, by the REV. A. TSCHÉPE, S.J.—This is a book printed under Confucius's very nose, so to speak, and its chief feature is that it provides us with over sixty full-page photographs or photolithographs of the holy man's house, grave, temple, and innumerable appendages thereto, not to mention pictures of Mencius and his temple, and of Yen-tsz and the other "sages" affiliated to Confucius as supporters in his glory. As to the history of Confucianism, Mr. Watters has long ago told us most of what it is possible to know. Father Peter Hoang, one of the most learned Chinese in existence, has also published (in Chinese) a very exactly dated account of Confucius and his teaching. Even in this journal (issue of July, 1897) there has been printed a historical illustrated account of the great Chinese philosopher and his works. Why Father Tschepe, who has

written many books so gracefully and wittily in French, should persist in giving us heavy German instead, it is difficult to guess, unless it be that the German sphere is "protected," and that the German Catholic Mission will not, or, more probably, cannot, compose type in French. Besides, Father Tschepe himself expresses the fear that he has grown rusty in his mother-tongue. The circulation of the present admirable work will thus inevitably be narrowed, for there are certainly not 50 out of the 5,000 non-German missionaries in China who can read German. The work may be characterized as strictly descriptive of what it illustrates; there is little or no religious arguing. Its value as a record of antiquity handed down to our own day is incontestable.—E. H. PARKER.

#### THE CATHOLIC MISSION; SHANGHAI.

7. *Calendrier-Annuaire pour 1908* (Sicawei Observatory). The present issue is the sixth in annual succession of this admirable and compendious little pocket-book of 250 pages, which possesses the inestimable advantage of having been prepared in each of its technical departments by the very best scientific men. In these revolutionary days it is startling and interesting, even to the general reader, to find so much precise information given about railways. The new system of Government administration is also adequately dealt with, and seafaring men will find all they want to know about marine and riverine tides, eclipses, and the movements of heavenly bodies generally. Full details about the Treaty Ports, Posts, Telegraphs, Opium Trade, Shanghai Building Rules, Weights and Measures, Geographical Positions, Population, etc., are added in their proper places. It must be remembered that each earlier number contains valuable matter which there is no room to repeat in all the successive numbers; otherwise there would be no space left for novelties. As each issue only costs a Mexican dollar (at present rates of exchange less than two shillings, including postage), it would be a prudent



thing for reference libraries to provide themselves with the whole series, which will soon inevitably be out of print. The "Calendrier" may be termed the "Scientific Record of China."—E. H. PARKER.

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DUCKWORTH AND CO.; HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT  
GARDEN, LONDON, 1907.

8. *The Future of Japan, with a Survey of Present Conditions*, by F. PETRIE WATSON. The first part of this work is given up to the subjects always brought forward in reference to Japan—to education, trade, industries, laws, and so forth. On the artistic side of Japanese life and surroundings Mr. Watson's reflections have somewhat digressed from the majority of opinions set down by those who have made the art and beauty of the country their study and investigation. The present hopeless chaos of national life under the conditions of to-day are as confusing to the reader as they must be to the individual who plays a part in the *camera obscura* of changeful events.

It is Mr. Watson's aim to probe into the hearts and minds of these unknowable people, and to propound the many difficult social and political problems which must sooner or later be worked out and settled. He has directed his attention as far as possible to the psychological aspect of modern Japan, and the influence it will exercise over the future of Japan and Europe. He has attempted a minute scrutiny of every changeful mood of the nation, unmoored from past traditions, and as yet unsettled as to the future course and its consequences—a brave and virile race, eager and ambitious, yearning to make the best and right choice, but perplexed and bewildered by the revelation that has greeted its eyes on all sides in this dynasty of change and unrest.

The second part of Mr. Watson's book, which really interprets the title, is extremely interesting. It is, however, not so much for general reading as for the politicians of either country, by whose abilities and actions the story

of the nation must proceed and unfold. Short and very able essays follow one another in sequence. Embodied in these is a theme for grave consideration as to whether or no Japan can or will accept Christianity. Without Christianity she can never, never rise to the standard of her ambitions. In the author's opinion she will be driven to accept and recognize the Faith, as at any rate a political necessity. Without an ecclesiastical system she cannot carry out the high ideals of life at which she aims, or take that part among European nations to which she aspires. Without this acceptance of Christianity "at the peril of chaos in her social modes and governing ideas, or at the worse peril of the reconstruction of the rigid despotism of her pre-modern age." Nor can she hope successfully "to reinterpret life"—"reinterpretation must be a reinterpretation in terms of religion as conceived in Europe." Chapters xxvii. and xxviii. are especially recommended to the notice of thoughtful readers.—S.

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GARDEN CITY PRESS; LETCHWORTH.

9. *Indian English: an Examination of the Errors of Idiom made by Indians in writing English*, by GEORGE CLIFFORD WHITFORD, Indian Civil Service (retired). Mr. Whitford has produced not only a handbook of errors, but also a correct and an acute and useful book of reference. He divides his criticisms under the several parts of speech—the article, the adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs, syntax, metaphors, and a vocabulary. He says in the introduction, "For many years past, both in hearing arguments from the Bar and in reading Indian books and newspapers, I have been struck with the wonderful command which Indians—and not only those who have been in England—have obtained over the English language for all practical purposes. At the same time I have often felt what a pity it is that men, exhibiting this splendid facility, should now and then mar their compositions by little errors of idiom which jar upon the ear

of the native Englishman." As a specimen the following sentences may be cited :

"There were a many people there,"

"There were great many people there,"

should be

"There were many people there,"

"There were a great many people there."

Again,

"I am of *the* opinion that religion is the highest study of man."

This would be correct if several opinions had been mentioned, and the writer wished to express that he adhered to this particular one. But that was not so; he was merely expressing an opinion where none had been expressed, and so he should have said, "I am of opinion."

Take another example :

"The Chief had a summer house about two miles off from the town."

"About two miles off" by itself would be right, but before a prepositional phrase, "from the town," we should say "away," and not "off."

Again,

"She took it up with *her* both hands," the order should be "with both her hands."

Again,

"No sooner it flies back to the jungle than it gives out its own wild note" should be "does it fly back."

Our space will not permit us to give further corrections. The compendium is excellent, and Englishmen, as well as Indians, would do well to consult it. The copious index facilitates reference.

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KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON.

10. *Sidelights on Chinese Life*, by REV. J. MACGOWAN, London Missionary Society. Mr. Macgowan has written

one of the pleasantest books on China ever given to the public, and although its unconventional literary style does not entitle it to be placed on quite so high an artistic level as the well-known works of the Rev. Arthur Smith, still, as an accurate description of Chinese character, street life, modes of thinking, and so on, it is certainly one of the best and most amusing of the many books that have appeared since the immortal "Chinese Characteristics" took the world by surprise. As with Mr. Smith's book, which originally came out anonymously in parts in the *North China Daily News*, so, if we mistake not, Mr. Macgowan has recently published some, if not all, of his amusing sketches in the same Shanghai newspaper, and is still doing so. Of Mr. Montagu Smyth's twelve coloured illustrations it may be said that they are emphatically artistic, and they remind us in general style of Mr. Mortimer Menpes's daintily illustrated book on Japan, published about three years ago; but they are mostly ultra-Turnerian in their blurred vagueness, though full of genius in their colour, choice, and general suggestiveness. The photographs, on the other hand, are very clear and to the point; evidently they are snapshots, for they are all instinct with life. Mr. Macgowan must be one of the oldest missionary hands in China by this time, and he has certainly spent his time in, or within nose-reach of, the filthiest of all the towns—Amoy. It is pleasant, therefore, to see how jolly and good-tempered he can be; what an accommodating, shrewd, and tolerant view he can take of all the disagreeable things around him; how little he exhibits of either missionary credulity as to converts or missionary sourness as to Catholics. Mr. Macgowan is very human throughout, and his book leaves upon us the impression of something that has been written by him when "at complete rest"; when he is enjoying a holiday at home surrounded by cheerful friends and good creature comforts; when he has for the moment entirely shaken off Chinese stinks and cobwebs from the brain, together with hymns, prayer-



meetings, conferences, and other admirable but dismal recreations, and has settled down to cudgel his brain good-naturedly for sprightly reminiscences. There is no Preface, no Introduction, no detailed Contents List, no Index. Mr. Macgowan plunges at once *in medias res*, without a word of explanation; and really none is needed. If we had not had occasion almost a generation ago to make use of his admirable Amoy Dictionary, we should not have even remembered who he was, so little is Amoy known to North China, or, indeed, to any part of China except (*pace* Hibernia) the places outside of China to which Amoy emigrants flock. The best chapter of all is, perhaps, that on education—as it was, of course, previous to recent reforms. Mr. Macgowan (pp. 133, 259) rates the standard of current knowledge too low; but then, it must be remembered that his experience has been gained in one of the most unliterary, as well as the most unfragrant, parts of China, and one, moreover, where the popular jargon has had the least possible chance of keeping in touch with mandarindom; it is doubtful if a single civil mandarin of prominence at this moment hails from Amoy. The mere fact that oysters are so often spoken of in connexion with cook-shops points inevitably to Amoy, for, with the exception of Chefoo, there is no other place in China where oysters are produced or eaten. If it is a fact that, as he says (p. 263), the school urchins can find no popular story-books, Amoy must be a very different place from Canton, the Hakka towns, or Pakhoi, Hoihow, Foochow, and Wenchow, where both women and children revel in books of local poetry and popular tales in dialect; as a matter of fact, missionaries have never shown any sign in any part of China of acquainting themselves with street literature, much of which has notwithstanding been translated for the English press in China, not to speak of Mr. Cecil Clementi's excellent translations of love-songs, reviewed two years ago in the *Times*. Nor (p. 64) do the southern Chinese hesitate to settle permanently with their families



in colonies—*e.g.*, the British—where property is safe. His hints (p. 183) upon boiling rice effectively ought to be taken to heart by all British housewives, who can as a body no more boil rice than they can make coffee. His remarks (p. 195) upon the absence in China of the alcohol curse (which decimates and unmans the British Isles) are also to the point. The practical Chinese idea of heaven (p. 203) may be unsatisfying and dismal, but how about our own popular notions of stiff benches and harps? The fact is, neither we nor they can divest themselves or ourselves of the primitive conception that the Deity is fashioned like the wretched and squalid animal called "man." Confucius (p. 268) was not the inventor of the terms "princely son" and "small man," both of which are clearly defined in the *Tso Chwan* (under 542 B.C., when Confucius was still a small boy), by Tsz-ch'an, who was perhaps a greater philosophical genius even than Confucius: Confucius greatly revered him; besides this, the "princely son" had already been spoken of in the "Rites" and the "Odes." Mr. Macgowan is quite right in leaving out as many uncouth names of persons and places as possible; the only thing is we are sometimes in doubt as to what persons and what places he is speaking of. The book is a most pleasurable one to read, though a little careless as to mechanism. Every character depicted or described seems an old familiar friend.—E. H. PARKER.

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ERNEST LEROUX; PARIS.

11. *Le Shinn-toïsme*, by MICHEL REVON, formerly Professor of French Law at the Imperial University, Tôkyô (second fascicule). The first part of this remarkable study was reviewed in the January, 1906 (p. 182), issue of this *Review* for the year 1905, and we are now taken on by M. Revon for another 200 pages to the end. The author has, since he published the first part, had the advantage of being able to consult Mr. W. G. Aston's recent valuable work on Shintô, which will be reviewed in the next

number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and of course this gives him further opportunities for comparing notes. Towards the end of his book, M. Revon enters into an interesting discussion upon the origin of the ancient Japanese, and of the various tribes or races which go to make up the modern Japanese people. The excellent summary of Père Tschepe, s.j., which we review shortly also in the present issue, is well worthy of M. Revon's earnest attention. As to the antiquity of the race, there can be little doubt of it: all races must be of much the same antiquity until the absence of records causes them to be lost in mist; the only question in each case is, "When did their records begin?" When men first learned to speak, they differentiated themselves from other less-knowing vertebrates; when they first learned to make marks, write, and keep records, they perpetuated speech and became "civilized"; those who possessed the earlier records naturally had better means of proving at least a part of their own equal share in antiquity. Kaempfer thought that, even with such a strange language as they possess, the Japanese must have "come out of the Tower of Babel" like the rest of us. A pious Scotchman has further identified them with the Lost Tribes of Israel. Mr. Hyde Clarke, it seems, traces them to "High Africa" and the Ashantis. Finally (we may add to M. Revon's list), there is a distinguished German writer who, in conversation at least, two years ago gave to the writer his reasons for believing that the ancient Irish might well be the Japanese. That they are a marvellous, distinguished, and gifted people no one can doubt; but, so far as genuine history goes, there seems absolutely no trustworthy guide—in the way of *written* records, of course—beyond the standard Chinese histories, according to which they were totally unknown before our era to any race possessing records; had no written records of their own until they themselves concocted them in the eighth century; got all their civilized and abstract ideas (including Shintō) from

China ; and marched along to greatness solely by the light of Chinese teaching. Such traditions as they had their own envoys communicated to the Chinese in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, and they first *saw* them in Chinese books. Then they set to work to collate their traditions in Japanese, with Chinese characters, and produced the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, both of which "histories" are retrospective, and are saturated with Chinese ready-made facts, trimmed to suit Japanese requirements.

E. H. PARKER.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK,  
BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA.

12. *Bombay in the Days of George IV.*: Memoirs of Sir Edward West, by F. Dawtrey Drewitt, M.A., M.D. The book before us is a record we are glad to see, and, unlovely though the picture is, shows well the state of the town and officialdom of Bombay under the Third George. Sir Edward West was born in 1782, and having been brought up by an uncle in Norfolk, became a barrister. He was appointed, in 1822, Recorder of the King's Court of Bombay, and was knighted, and then had married his beautiful *fiancée*, Lucretia Ffolkes (whose pleasant letters reveal so kindly a character), and went out to India at the end of that year. To say that he landed in a hornets' nest is to say little. The King's Judges had a hard position in an India ruled by John Company. To oppose the self-seeking and corruption at all, they had to do it wholeheartedly with all Anglo-India of the time against them, and in this unequal contest they generally lost heart and succumbed. Lady West entered in her journal in Bombay, June 12, 1823: "Edward has been much engaged in court detecting frauds . . . he came to administer justice and correct abuses, and he will do it . . . but it will make him unpopular." And it did. He was from his arrival in India involved in conflicts with officials, whose abuses, vested interests, or wrongdoings he refused to countenance.

The writers correct many of the current stories of his "injustices," as the opinion of the time censured his reforms, and give a pleasant picture—mainly through his wife's journals—of the man himself. Lady West regarded Anglo-Indian society as very formal—"the ladies very self-sufficient and consequential, thinking of little but their fine pearls and *local* rank"; but her strictures are always worth reading and her letters good. 1818 to 1828 was a dark if silent period for India. The Deccan was depopulated by a peaceful settlement, "carried out in the spirit of Shylock and recorded in the language of Pecksniff," and little permanent good work was accomplished. In 1824, however, the Supreme Court of Bombay was established, but that stopped no private disputes, which Bishop Heber's visit did little to allay. Illegal flogging and imprisonment of natives were combated by the Chief Justice, also with similar results. Quarrels with Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor, followed, and when the latter left, an attack was begun by Sir John Malcolm on the King's Judges, whom he wrote of as "quibbling, quill-driving lawyers." But Sir Edward West's struggle was almost done. He died August 18, 1828, and was followed on September 4 by his wife, to whose journal we owe so much. He merits this literary monument, as he, in his time, was the native's truest friend, and he combated with all his force the old idea that India belonged to the East India Company and to it only.—A. F. S.

13. *Missions to Hindus: A Contribution to the Study of Missionary Methods*, by LOUIS GEORGE MYLNE, M.A., D.D., Bishop of Bombay, 1876-1897, Rector of Alvechurch, Worcestershire. The materials for this interesting volume have been, as the author has said, gathered by slow degrees and for several different purposes, in the form of lectures, sermons, and articles in the *Church Quarterly Review*. They are the result of personal experience as a leader and controller of missionary operations in India, and of long and serious reflection, especially in relation to



Hinduism in its various aspects. He considers that the efforts of mission agents should be concentrated and not diffusive, and confined to a limited territory, avoiding all compromise with Hindu doctrines, customs, or ceremonies, and the doctrines and principles of the Christian faith, as handed down to us from Apostolic teaching. He would have all agents of the Cross to carry out His commission : "Go to all nations and preach the GOSPEL to every creature," for "see I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, and"—then and not till then—"to build and to plant." The success of all such efforts "must depend, more than anything else, on the discernment exercised by missionaries in guiding the lives of their people through obedience on to ultimate independence. Nowhere else, perhaps, as in India, does so much inevitably depend on the delicacy of care and adjustment with which that process goes forward." To "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free," to rule and order one's life on the "single principle of love—this, and nothing less than this, should each Christian, in his measure and degree, make the goal of his ultimate endeavours." "May He who alone can effect it work it out in His own due time by the guidance of His own Holy Spirit." We earnestly commend to missionaries of all Christian denominations the serious study of this important volume.

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JOHN MURRAY ; LONDON.

14. *The Sayings of Confucius*. A new translation of the greater part of the Analects, with introduction and notes, by LIONEL GILES, M.A. (Oxon). This is not at all a bad little book, and it would perhaps have been still better if the Chinese proper names had been given in the "general mandarin" instead of in Pekingese, which is excellent for general linguistic purposes, but is quite out of place in a work having any pretensions to exact knowledge, science, or art. Full reasons for this have long since been given by



Professors Hirth and Chavannes; in fact, nothing would have been lost to the general reader if the proper names had been left out altogether. For instance, when Confucius makes an important reply like, "Do unto others what you would they should do unto you," no one who does not know Chinese cares in the least whether it was Mêng-ki-tsz, or Tsz-chang, or Chung Kung who elicited the remark; whilst for those who do know Chinese, and only one particular form of it, the "true value" of the syllables is often hopelessly disguised in the Pekingese form. It must be conceded, however, that for one who only knows Pekingese himself it is difficult to achieve this desideratum. No one who understands the principles of Chinese etymology ever puts his conclusions into Pekingese if he can avoid it. Mr. Ku Hung-ming has been largely drawn upon for critical opinions, and no doubt he is one of the best of those very rare "new Chinese" who combine the faculty of composing and criticizing clearly in a foreign language as well as in their own language. He has written largely for the Japan press.

As with Mr. Lionel Giles's "Saying of Lao-tzu," noticed in our January number of 1905, the author has now transposed and reset in more convenient groupings the disjointed "apophthegms" of Confucius, which in the original are scattered, apparently without rhyme or reason, "all over the place." Having only recently been through every line of the *Lun-yü*, or "Sayings," the writer of this notice is of opinion that the translator (it will be observed that Mr. Lionel Giles does not say specifically that it was he himself) has done his work exceedingly well. With no misprints and no mistranslations, it is difficult and unnecessary to "criticize" any further; it is sufficient to congratulate the author, or authors, on their very readable and trustworthy work. There are certain passages reminiscent of *Pater Tonans* in the background—as, for instance, when on pp. 31 and 60 the "atrocious phrase" and "vile phrase," chosen by Dr. Legge as a translation, is fustigated. "Ridiculous interpretation" (p. 54) and "bungling trans-

lators" (p. 119) are not nice things to say of grand old Dr. Legge, whilst "Wade even goes one better" (p. 73) sounds downright pert and vulgar. Probably Mr. Lionel Giles is personally innocent of this questionable taste; one of the unshakable principles of a Confucian gentleman is respect for a teacher. Even a haughty Viceroy of seventy years of age will rise as an inferior from his chair to salute a seedy old man, though a beggar, who once stood in the relation of instructor to him. Sir T. Wade and Dr. Legge are both *in loco parentis* in relation to Professor Giles, and *a fortiori* in relation to his son, Mr. Lionel Giles. When Confucius is laconic and obscure he is imperfect, like any other common man, and it is futile for "foreigners" to abuse native critics who for 2,000 years have been doing their best to make out what he means; and it is scarcely fair to ridicule the "renderings" of distinguished Europeans, by whose pioneer work in the main father and son are guided themselves. It is futile in a professor; almost indecent in a young man who has scarcely yet been baptized in his China studies. However, buy the book; it is a good one. The proverb on p. 70 should, we think, be "a man must *deceive* [not "insult"] himself before others will"; moreover, in either case, English grammar requires the addition of "deceive him" or "insult him."—E. H. PARKER.

15. *The Conduct of Life*, by KU HUNG-MING, M.A. (Edin.). This is No. 5 of the "Wisdom of the East Series," and in some respects bears a resemblance in character to Mr. Lionel Giles's "Sayings of Confucius"; in fact, Mr. Giles repeatedly and rightly lays Mr. Ku under contribution when it suits his purpose to obtain confirmation of his own or his father's opinions. Just as, two years ago, the Chinese Minister Wang Ta-sieh "calmly unfolded" a popular constitution 3,000 years old, taken from the "Rites of Chou," so does Mr. Ku now discover for us that the Chinese "old order of things" is "a moral civilization and a true social order, and cannot, therefore, in the nature of things, pass away." Indeed, he considers Chinese civiliza-

tion to be a "wonderful success"; for, owing to its moral force, "the Chinese Government is still able to keep its public engagements with the foreign Powers for the Boxer indemnity." It would have been better if the original Chinese, or at least a reference, could have been given for such a Confucian saying as "Truth is the law of God; acquired truth is the law of man." It is quite likely, and probably true, that both Confucius and Laocius said this in effect, and, moreover, Mr. Ku may be trusted as well as anyone to give us the spirit, even if he departs from the letter, of the original Chinese. Still, in a small popular book like this, we admit the difficulty. Again (p. 39), "the law of the survival of the fittest is here announced 2,000 years ago . . . not the survival of the most brutally strong, but the survival of the morally fittest." The fact is that almost any virtue can be extracted from the vast mass of Chinese philosophical literature, just as Satan is traditionally able to find anything he wants in the Scriptures. However, Mr. Ku is a *rude travailleur*, and has made his mark long before this. His little book is well worth the attention of all persons disposed to be too complacently satisfied with our own European religious philosophy.—E. H. PARKER.

16. *Our First Ambassador to China: An Account of the Life of George, Earl of Macartney*, from hitherto unpublished correspondence and documents, with illustrations, by HELEN H. ROBINS. Life seems to grow busier and the days shorter with the multifarious distractions and novelties that the restless advance of civilization crowds upon us. Few are the people now who, whilst still in the full bloom of health and activity, can find time to read 500 pages about the personal concerns of another man, especially one who was born nearly two centuries ago; yet Lord Macartney's varied career, whether as Sir George in Russia, the Irish baron when he was starting for the West Indies, or the belted Earl after his services in India and China, was so much outside the common run of careers in those days

that, even in these hurried times, no doubt a large number of persons will yet be found willing to sacrifice an occasional evening of bridge or a supper at the Carlton for the pleasure of handling Mr. Murray's charmingly handy volume : in spite of its bulky appearance, the thick paper and stout binding are so exceedingly light to the grasp that it can be held up by two fingers of the left hand with the greatest ease. This is a point that publishers will do well to consider ; a heavy glazed book is a nuisance nowadays ; the idle mind must be coaxed to attention by every mechanical device. Of course everybody thinks of Lord Macartney chiefly in connexion with his well-known mission to China, and especially his visit to the Emperor K'ien-lung at Jéhol ; but many will find his curious experiences in Russia and his lively personal descriptions of Catherine and her minister Panin the most interesting features in the book ; the form of narrative, too, is here less heavy than the Chinese diary. Lord Macartney seems to have lived most of his career abroad apart from his excellent wife, who, to judge from her picture (p. 155), and from the description (p. 153) given of her by the authoress (presumably a relative of the Earl), must have had a touch of the bitter-sweet about her character. However, *Mens conscia recti* was the motto of the Earl's house, and there is no reason to suppose that Lord Macartney was ever less faithful to her honour abroad than she was true to his interests at home ; or, to parody the effort of the Yorkshire haberdasher who was determined to out-advertise his rival who had made use of this motto to push his wares, there was no reason to doubt that it was a case of *Men's and Women's conscia recti*. Yet somehow, in spite of all the correspondence now published for the first time, it is difficult to make out exactly what sort of a man Lord Macartney really was among his boon companions, if he ever had any. It so happens that the writer of these unworthy lines has had opportunities of viewing with his own eyes the mysteries of most of the places where this distinguished public servant



made his reputation, from Petersburg to Verona, from the West Indies to Madras and Jêhol, and consequently he feels that there is nothing particular to marvel at. All reads naturally. Probably the majority of the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, whose fortune has not driven them to all these strange places, will turn with the maximum of interest to the pages recounting Lord Macartney's experiences as Governor of Madras, where his conduct seems to have been exceptionally upright and honourable; it reads curiously at the present time to find that "he solemnly swore and declared (to the Company) that he had never, to the best of his belief, accepted or received for his own benefit presents of any kind with the exception of two pipes of Madeira from two particular friends, a few bottles of champagne and burgundy, and some fruit and provisions of very trifling value." But Lord Macartney (like Confucius) could not only take his glass of liquor: he could fight; and the way in which he stood up to General Stuart and took his bullets without flinching (p. 163) should be a lesson to those more pusillanimous continental duellists immortalized in "Innocents Abroad." Altogether he seems to have been a good, honest, serious man, and it is partly on account of this almost aggressive virtue of his that a little fun is here poked at him. But a man who insists on firing a second shot to oblige an adversary who has already put a bullet in one shoulder, and who can polish off two pipes of Madeira in the climate of Madras, possesses at least two redeeming vices, and the fun is quite respectful. The painter who achieved the horrible work of art on p. 196 surely must have libelled the noble and gallant Earl! "Dog-seated" is the expression used in the navy nowadays to characterize a man whose body is considerably longer than his legs; the distance between the Earl's belt and the top of his head, fairly measured, is exactly one-fifth greater than that between the same belt and his feet: if that proportion is correct, then (like the Chinese conqueror Ts'ao Ts'ao) he must have looked most imposing



sitting on a chair, from which his legs would necessarily dangle. In one of the Hamburg museums there is an old picture of Adam and Eve with exactly the same proportions; possibly it was a fashionable shape in the eighteenth century, as in the time of Adam. The "embassy yachts," depicted on p. 164, are very picturesque, but they are simply exact specimens of exceedingly rowdy-looking junks such as thirty years ago, or even twenty, all diplomats had to use in their lumbering voyage of three or four days up river from Tientsin to Peking, or, rather, to "Tong-siou" (T'ung-chou). The description of the exceedingly able, vivacious, and imperious Emperor K'ien-lung is scarcely new, though possibly there may be fresh documents to illustrate it; it is, however, very interesting, and it is sad now to think how low China has fallen since those haughty days of 115 years ago. The portrait on p. 374 may correctly delineate the Emperor's clothes, but his features were surely longer and more oval? Lord Macartney indulges in one little successful if far-flung prophecy (p. 368): "I am, indeed, very much mistaken if all the authority and address of the Tartar Government will be able much longer to stifle the energies of their Chinese subjects." The Emperor K'ien-lung would turn in his grave if his spirit were to-day told of the cruel humiliations suffered by China during the past two decades, not to mention the abolition of nearly all distinction between Manchus and Chinese. To return to the descriptions: Even forty years ago snuff-taking was universal among the wealthier classes of Peking, and beautiful Louis Quinze snuff-bottles and snuff-boxes could easily be picked up at the virtuoso's haunts. Not so now. Lord Macartney says (p. 396): "They also take snuff, but in small quantities, not in that beastly profusion which is often practised in England, even by some of our fine ladies," who have now taken, it appears from the society papers and sermons, to cigarettes and mysterious small "draughts" instead. After a year's rest at home, Lord Macartney was finally sent on a confidential mission to Louis XVIII., who

was then sojourning at Verona. The exiled King was certainly not to be seen at his best then, and the Earl was considerably troubled with the persistent borrowing of the impecunious members of his bored suite. Yet Louis' capacity and parts seem to have created a favourable impression upon the British Envoy, if not as a majestic King, at least as a man of more than average common sense. The allusions in the last pages of Miss Robbins' book to a *chère amie* with whom Lord Macartney corresponded in a confidential way might lead inexperienced persons to suppose that the Earl could tackle other forms of gallantry besides Madeira and pistol-firing; but, if so, let such persons know that his discreet and charitable biographer gives no one any right to assume that the letters in question ever contained anything undiplomatic or unplatonic. If Boswell had had short legs and a long body; and if, instead of dancing attendance upon Johnson, he had found himself accredited to Catherine, K'ien-lung, and Louis, his peculiar character might have made out of him exactly another Earl of Macartney, whose pride, love of good liquor, ambition, conceit (this is frankly admitted by Miss Robbins), and freedom from corrupt self-interest, each recall so many similar features in the character of Boswell.—E. H. PARKER.

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W. NEWMAN AND CO.; CALCUTTA.

17. *Calcutta Old and New*, by H. E. A. COTTON. To say that this book on Calcutta is well written is not enough, for it is a fascinating compilation, and the author and his brother, Mr. Julian Cotton, who contributed two chapters and much assistance while it was being constructed, are to be congratulated on the success of their work. They have collected most of the traditions of the town which are worth getting together and preserving, and have told as well the legends of bygone Anglo-Indian society and the story of the city of Calcutta since its creation as an English settlement by Job Charnock. This founder and his romantic Hindu marriage begin the Anglo-Indian story. Then his

successors, the early settlers, have a chapter to themselves, as also has the Calcutta of Queen Anne. English women were very rare in early times, but in 1742 within the palisades resided all the Christian population—English, Armenian, and (from whom come the Kintals) Portuguese, with whom the English made occasional marriages. It is hard to read of the lot of the first settlers, and how slowly were the early discomforts and dangers alleviated. The "troubles" came in 1756 and the awful "Black Hole," and then Calcutta, lest it should be too like the phoenix, was ravaged by a series of plagues ("all funeral processions are concealed, as far as possible, from the sight of the ladies, that their vivacity may not be wounded"), and we read many records of the results in the sombre monumental inscriptions which fill a large part of this book. The stirring times of Warren Hastings are well described. The Nuncomar charge is given in his favour, and we read of his quarrels, duels, and trials. Nor is the social side neglected: here we again see his beautiful wife hold her court and Madame Grand flirt with Francis. Then Cornwallis came to rule, and wrote, "I don't think the greatest sap at Eton can lead a duller life than this." Wellesley was renowned for his hospitality, and in his "reign" modern Calcutta began to appear, and in the new Government House was his chief monument. Not until Lord Dalhousie's time, however, did the city begin to be well drained or well watered. An instructive chapter on "Calcutta during the Mutiny" shows how little the real issues of '57 were understood at the time. Modern Calcutta, the worthies after whom the streets were named, historic houses—and the changes of manners of their Anglo-Indian inhabitants—monuments, and the statues which decorate the city, are all described here; and there are notes as well on the suburbs, which (*e.g.*, Alipore) still have many traditions of eighteenth-century Anglo-India, when there was no escape to the hills, and the feverish exiles sought for quietness or sea-breezes instead. The book is, in every

respect, a most learned and readable description of "the sixth capital which Bengal has enjoyed within a period of as many centuries."—A. F. S.

S. W. PARTRIDGE AND CO.; PATERNOSTER ROW,  
LONDON.

18. *A History of Western Tibet—one of the Unknown Empires*, by Rev. A. H. FRANCKE, Moravian missionary. With maps and illustrations. The author has endeavoured to produce a popular history of this scarcely known region, derived chiefly from native chronicles and inscriptions on rocks and monuments. There is also a preface or introduction by F. W. Thomas, of the India Office Library, Whitehall, London. Mr. Thomas congratulates the Moravian Mission on Mr. Francke's "researches into the dialects, customs, folk-lore, ethnology, and archæology described and illustrated in the volume." It is the "outcome, not only of scholarly enterprise and research, but also of familiarity with the country and the people." The missionary closes this interesting work with the expectation that the work of civilization is gradually advancing among the people. He says: "The progress of the mission work was slow in the beginning, but has become a little quicker in course of time, and the importance of this work for the Christianization of the whole of Tibet cannot be overestimated. Here, not only the methods for the evangelization of Tibet proper can be learned, but the fact is demonstrated to the Tibetans that it is quite possible to be a Tibetan by birth and yet a Christian by re-birth. God grant that in no very far future the history of Tibet may enter upon a new phase—that of a Christian Tibet!"

In one of the appendices to the volume there is a very interesting reference to the ancient history of Lahoul, and the difference in their languages. "The ancient history of Lahoul differs from that of Ladakh (Western Tibet). It is contained chiefly in the languages of the country. The fact that the little country of Lahoul possesses three dis-



tinct languages, which are not related to the Aryan languages of India, and only distinctly related to Tibetan, has long been a puzzle to philologists. The grand work of the linguistic survey of India, recently undertaken by the Indian Government, has, however, done much towards elucidating the problem of Lahoul among many others."

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SMITH, ELDER, AND CO. ; LONDON.

19. *The Pirates of Malabar, and an Englishwoman in India Two Hundred Years Ago*, by Colonel John Bid-dulph. This account of piracy in Indian waters is a welcome addition to the monographs on Eastern history. European piracy, the author points out, came into existence with the companions of Vasco da Gama, and they were followed by the English and Dutch, who emulated them in capturing native or Arab ships laden with the wealth of the Indies, and diverting the latter to their own uses. Charles I., under the advice of his gentleman, Endymion Porter, gave a permit to certain rovers in 1635 to "capture ships and goods of any State not in league and amity" with his country, and this, though the East India Company eventually protested successfully, gave a fatal impetus to European piracy. Diverted to the Spanish Main for a time by the decay of the Spanish power, by the end of the seventeenth century the pirates swarmed again on the Malabar Coast, and we read the thrilling adventures of the "passionate" John Hand; James Gilliam, who was captured at Junaghur and sent to the camp of Aurungzeeb; and the astonishing career of Henery Every, who died in Devonshire after a career of piracy, during which he was alleged to have captured and carried off with much wealth a Mogul princess and married her, holding a private court at Madagascar. Popular legend surrounds Captain Kidd, but, in the chapter devoted to him, we find he was a most unworthy pirate, who deserved his death in 1701, and whose capture caused the passing of the new Act against piracy, which helped to clear the seas of such European pests.



But the Europeans were not the only scourge of the Malabar waters. In 1702 Conajee Angria became a noted freebooter on the sea and ravaged the coasts, and the Company, which lost much by him, sometimes threatened and sometimes temporized. Swarms of European adventurers (chiefly Dutch) joined the Indian craft, and did much damage; but in 1715 Charles Boone became Governor of Bombay, and improved its defences, a work which, under the penurious rule of the Company, was very necessary. Quarrels with Angria and Goa took up much of Governor Boone's time, and we get an interesting view of the men he commanded. It is unnecessary to recount the wars against Gheriah and Colaba and the Portuguese; but strife and piracy went on until the capture of Severndroog by James, and the downfall of Angria under Clive and Watson in 1755, and the dangers which threatened the European vessels in the old days were soon completely forgotten. The second part of this book deals with the life-story of "Mistress Catherine Cooke," who, in 1709, went out, aged thirteen or so, to India in the *Loyall Bliss*. At Carwar she was met on arrival by Mr. John Harvey, the Company's factor, and married him "to oblige her parents," though he was "a deformed man and in years." Harvey died in 1711, and his widow married his successor, Thomas Chowne, and sailed with him in November, 1712, for Bombay. The ship was attacked by Angrian pirates, and Chowne being killed, his widow was carried a prisoner to Colaba, and not ransomed until February, 1713. Still a girl, she married a third time William Gyfford, a Bombay civilian, who was three years later sent as chief of the factory to Anjengo. He was captured and murdered by unruly subjects of the Rani of Attinga ("Take care and don't frighten the women; we are in no great danger," was his characteristic *chit* when trapped), with all his followers, and his widow sailed at once to Madras, taking with her all the factory papers, and leaving the others to defend the factory. She then found a protector in

Commodore Matthews, R.N., who was on bad terms with the Company, and we leave her deep in litigation against the rulers of the India in which she had suffered so much.  
—A. F. S.

20. *Biographical Notices of Officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers*, arranged and compiled by COLONEL SIR EDWARD T. THACKERAY, K.C.B., V.C. This interesting compilation of the distinguished services of officers of the Royal (Bengal) Engineers we had the pleasure of noticing in our issue of January, 1901 (see p. 207). The author restricted his excellent memoirs to those who had been deceased at the time of publication. Many others of this famous corps have since died, and we hope that Sir Edward Thackeray will favour the public with a second edition brought up to date.

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T'USEWEI PRESS ; SHANGHAI.

21. *Richard's Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire*, 1908, translated into English, revised and enlarged by M. KENNELLY, S.J. One vol., 8vo, with one large map of China in seven colours in pocket, three other small-size maps in five colours, thirty-one diagrams or plans, seventy-two statistical tables, and five appendices. The French edition of the above admirable work was noticed in our issue of April, 1906 (p. 403), and now we cannot do better than allow the editors to speak for themselves as follows :

“The present awakening and reshaping of China interest the great nations of the world, and fasten attention upon this vast empire. The reform movement, already applied to the administration, to the army, and to education, has largely changed the old order of things. Railways and postal work have made rapid strides ; new marts have been opened to foreign trade, thereby bringing the Westerner into contact with places and names hitherto unknown, and for which he wants to find ready reference. The recent famine in Central China has shown how re-

sponsive are foreign nations to come to the assistance of China. The gap between East and West is thus being bridged, and mutual intercourse and friendship will be developed as the country and people are better known. A comprehensive geography of the Chinese Empire will therefore fill an urgent need, and be welcomed by all classes of readers.

"This work gives a *physical* and *political* description of China and dependencies. Each province is the object of a particular study, in which its area and population, its principal towns, its mountains and rivers, its industry and commerce, its agricultural and mineral wealth, its land-routes and waterways, its geology, fauna, flora, climate, and language, are minutely and methodically exposed.

"The *political* and *economic* part gives a copious and encyclopædical account of the *history* of the country, and describes the Government and administration, religions, the army and navy, educational progress, industry and mining, the railway, postal and telegraph departments. A full list of the cities and towns and a complete alphabetical index accompany the work."—E. H. PARKER.

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T. FISHER UNWIN ; LONDON.

22. *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* : being a Personal Narrative of Events, by WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT. The narrative of Mr. Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt of their travels in the East are very interesting. According to the author's description of his experience in the diplomatic circle, the reader might infer that diplomacy is but veiled deceit. As to the volume being a correct secret history of the English occupation of Egypt is in our opinion a misnomer.

The only use of the book, in so far as regards real history, is that it shows the efforts which the author took in reference to the rebellion, and the disastrous result of his interference both to himself and to the unhappy dupes who relied on his asserted powers of assistance.

When a company fails, and it can be shown that a number of people have been ruined through a false statement in a prospectus, the authors of such statements can be prosecuted ; but where lives, property, and liberty are sacrificed through trusting to the words of a pretending politician, there is no legal remedy. Perhaps the shortest and most simple way of proving the general worthlessness of the evidence which Mr. Blunt brings forward to prove his case is to give one flagrant instance of it.

At p. 457 he introduces a witness named Ardern Beaman as follows : "The following from Mr. Beaman, Malet's official interpreter, and a witness of unimpeachable authority, is of the highest historical importance." Then follows a good deal from Mr. Beaman. Towards the end of his letter he says : "If I was not bound by my position here not to advise broadly, I could give him hints enough for his cross-examination to turn out the Khedive to-morrow." And at p. 515 he writes as follows : "When Lord Dufferin came, I told him my belief that the massacres originated with the Pharaoh (Khedival) party. The idea was quite a new one to Lord Dufferin, and he asked me if I could bring proof. I finally went to him, and said if he would give a written guarantee that no harm should be done to the men, I would bring witnesses. I could not bring them now. Abdu and Rifaat know the whole story well. To prove that Omar Lutfi had ordered, etc., I would bring the man who had received the order and taken it to Suliman Sami. I would bring another who had heard Omar Lutfi in the streets exhorting the massacres to strike home on the heads of the Christians, and not to spare Lord Dufferin ; then cried off, and said it was not his business to prosecute Omar Lutfi."

Next we have to hear what Mr. Beaman says when it becomes a question of producing his witnesses. Page 517, extract from Mr. Beaman's letter of June 22 : "Omar contented himself with stalking about the town and telegraphing to the Khedive in cipher. It is impossible to know what

passed between these two. . . . If the Khedive was apprised of this massacre at two or three o'clock, why did he not call in Sir Malet? . . . This is the only evidence whatever against the Khedive. Against Omar Lutfi it is much stronger; but the unfortunate part of it is that I cannot lay my hands on the witnesses whom I offered to bring to Lord Dufferin. I never knew their names myself," etc., on p. 518. "I am rather sorry that I've published those extracts from my letter, because they were written carelessly. . . . First of all, I did not make the offer to Lord Dufferin personally, but to Nicholson (Lord Dufferin's Private Secretary), who, however, gave me Lord Dufferin's answer. I think I once recurred to the subject with Lord Dufferin, and he answered in a way to show that he had cognizance of my offer, but at the time I was so engrossed with the trial (Arabs) that I have no very clear recollection of what passed. I don't care what you publish of mine against Omar Lutfi, but I had rather you did not implicate me against the Khedive. I have rather modified my ideas respecting his quietness." And this is the witness whose evidence Mr. Blunt states to be of the "highest historical importance"!

We merely cite the case in order to show the worthlessness of the book. There is hardly a statement of fact from first to last where Mr. Blunt is dealing with the rebellion which cannot be controverted by succeeding passages in the text. It is certainly the only instance we can call to mind of a book which proves the reverse of what the author desires to establish. It contradicts in one passage what it asserts in another. It prints letters from his witnesses of their own evidence. It shows a curious inability on the part of the writer to appreciate the real value of events which were passing under his eyes, and even now that a quarter of a century has passed, his judgment in regard to them is as faulty as it was at the time.

In the appendices there is an autobiography of Araby,



and letters to the author, as well as other correspondence. There is also a poetical effusion titled "The Wind and the Whirlwind," and a copious index.

23. *A Short History of Indian Literature*, by E. HORRWITZ, with an Introduction by PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. A short and popular history of Indian literature, to which Professor Davids thinks we owe the new sciences of comparative philology, mythology, and religion. The author has written his work "for readers who are interested in the kinship of tongues and migration of words, but have neither the leisure nor inclination to plunge into learned discussions on philology and questions of race." It embraces, among various other topics, that of the Aryan migration, the Aryas in the Punjaub, the Vedas, the story and origin of the Mahā-Bhārata, the Rāmāyana poem, the Sūtra literature, Vedānta, Buddhism, the institutes of Manu, the Huns, and the rise of Ujain, Purānas, and Trantras, Hindu legends and festivals, fables and proverbs, languages and nations, and an index containing various subjects cognate to Indian literature. The list of dates will prove handy and useful, as well as the notes on pronunciation.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Linguistic Survey of India.* Vol. IX., Part III.: *The Bhīl Languages*, compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, I.C.S. (retired). (Calcutta: Government Printing Office.) This part of the magnificent "Linguistic Survey of India" is chiefly devoted to the numerous Bhīl languages of Central and Western India, and to the Khāndēśī, spoken in the district Khandesh. The volume concludes with an account of the dialect of the wandering carriers known as Banjaras or Labhānās.

*Speeches of the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose.* An exhaustive and comprehensive collection, with a biographical sketch and a portrait. (G. A. Nateson and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) This pamphlet, in a neat and handy form, contains Dr. Ghose's speeches in the Viceregal Council on the policy of Lord Curzon's Indian administration, his address as chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, and on other important public occasions. There is also an interesting biographical sketch of his life and public career.

*Historical Atlas of India, for the Use of High Schools, Colleges, and Private Students*, by CHARLES JOPPEN, S.I. (Longmans, Green and Co., London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta, 1907.) The object of this interesting publication is to give and to illustrate a concise conspectus of Indian history for use in high-class educational seminaries. The notes begin with the Empire of Alexander, and continue, through the numerous changes that have taken place, in districts, territories, and rulers, down to the Indian Empire as it exists at the present time. The maps are clear and distinct, and the author has avoided the common mistake of overloading them with names of places, rivers, and mountains, which are not essential to the elucidation of history.

*The Indian World.* A monthly review of Indian

politics, etc. (The Cherry Press, Calcutta.) The December, 1907, number contains the full text of the Presidential Address of Dr. Rash Bahari Ghose, intended to have been delivered at the National Congress at Surat, but was not delivered in consequence of the breaking up of the Congress by the extreme party. This brilliant speech deserves attention by all parties in India, and by those at home, who take an interest in Indian affairs.

*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society.* (Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) The report of the proceedings of this society for October, November, and December, 1907, contains several very interesting papers, among which may be noted the "Impressions of Russia," by the Rev. J. Gleeson; "Armenian History," by Mr. A. Raffi; and "Russia and Persia," by General Tyrrell.

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IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE; PARIS.

*Recueil de Textes Chinois à l'Usage des Élèves*, by A. VISSIÈRE, Consul-Général de France, Professeur à l'École Speciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. This is a book printed purely in Chinese, and consequently a very few words upon its many merits will suffice for the limited numbers capable of making use of it in England. It consists of selected specimens of all sorts of documents—official, unofficial, legal, commercial, customs, banking, decrees, reports, conventions, treaties, literary, critical, diaries of envoys, geographical, newspaper articles and advertisements, etc., all beautifully printed in clear type. It is, at all events, desirable to call the special attention of Professors of Chinese to an exceedingly valuable collection, capable of being utilized with great advantage for students in advanced classes.—E. H. PARKER.

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*List of the Higher Metropolitan and Provincial Authorities of China, with Genealogical Table of the Imperial Family*, compiled by the Chinese Secretaries, H.B.M. Legation, Peking. By S. F. MAYERS, Assistant Chinese

Secretary. (Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, 1907.) A very useful list, admirably compiled and printed. It has been corrected up to June 1, 1907.

*British Indians and the Transvaal*, by L. W. RITCH. (South Africa British Indian Committee, 28, Queen Anne's Chambers, Broadway, Westminster, S.W.) This is a concise statement by Mr. Ritch from his own experience, and from authentic public documents, of the history of the position and grievances of British Indians in the Transvaal in the time of the Republic and after the annexation. There is an appendix in the form of a table of comparisons between the British Indian position under the Boers and since the annexation. All who take an interest in redressing the grievances, so clearly delineated, of our Indian subjects in Africa ought to peruse this well-written and accurate statement, and to use their influence accordingly.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

*Shinto: the Ancient Religion of Japan*, by W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT. This book is easily recognizable as a work from the pen of Mr. W. G. Aston. Shintoism has been a subject towards which for some time this author has directed his attention, and to whom we may confidently look for sound and reliable information. Students who investigate the religious systems of the Eastern world will be glad to add this handbook to their library. Within its pages the shadowy halo surrounding all the past records of ancestor worshipping has been searched out and expounded in the form of a condensed glossary.—S.

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*Journal of the Gypsy-Lore Society*, January, 1908. (6, Hope Street, Liverpool.) This number contains various interesting tales and information, especially on the "Dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies," "Welsh Gypsy Folk-Tales," and "A Hundred Shelta Sayings" in the Ulster dialect.

*Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E.* The Annual

Report for 1906-1907 shows that this excellent and useful institution is making steady increase, both in the number of students and the state of the funds. But its funds ought to be largely increased, and an endowment fund established. The evidence of two energetic missionaries at a recent meeting—the Bishop of Mid-China and the Rev. E. W. Smith from Livingstone's country—have borne eloquent and earnest testimony to the usefulness of the college to those who intend to labour in Africa, India, and the Far East.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The North American Review*;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), November and December, 1907, and January, 1908 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Limited, Toronto);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Company, publishers, New York and



London);—*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1907 (United States National Museum, Washington);—*The Situation in India: Official and Non-official Views*;—*The Surat Congress and Conferences: A Collection of the Presidential and Inaugural Speeches* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*Thoughts on the Present Discontent*, by Mohamed Ali, B.A. Oxon (*Bombay Gazette Steam Press*, 1907).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Modern Egypt*, by the Earl of Cromer, in two volumes;—*The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia*, by B. L. Putnam Weale (Macmillan and Co., London);—*The Second Afghan War, 1878-1880: Official Account*;—*Indian Jottings: From Ten Years Experience in and around Poona City*, by E. F. Elwin;—*Arabian Wisdom*, by John Wortabet, M.D. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London);—*The Real India*, by J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P. (Methuen and Co., London);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. Gibb, vol. v., edited by E. G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (Luzac and Co., London);—*The Early History of India, from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*, by Vincent A. Smith (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press);—*Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, C.I.E. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press);—*Ramatanu Lahiri: A History of the Renaissance in Bengal*, from the Bengali of Pandit Sivanath Sastri, M.A., edited by Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited);—*How to Learn Hindustani: A Guide to the Lower and Higher Standard Examinations*, by Major F. R. H. Chapman (Crosby Lockwood and Son, London).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—In his Speech from the Throne, His Majesty the King said: "I sincerely lament to have to inform you that, owing to failure of the rains over parts of India during the last year, conditions of scarcity, accompanied by much sickness, have arisen. Prompt and well-considered measures of relief have been taken, and the situation is faced both by the stricken people and by my officers with courage and hope."

The number of persons under State relief throughout India at present exceeds 1,000,000.

The Secretary of State for India has appointed a Committee to inquire into, and report upon, the present system of selecting, and training after selection, candidates for the Indian Forest Service, and to make recommendations. The Committee is constituted as follows: Mr. R. C. Munro-Ferguson, M.P. (Chairman); Sir John Edge, K.C., Member of the Council of India; Sir W. T. Thiselton Dyer; Mr. E. Stafford Howard, C.B.; and Mr. St. Hill Eardley-Wilmot, Inspector-General of Forests in India. The Secretary is Mr. F. C. Drake, of the India Office, London.

Rioting occurred in Bombay on February 13, arising out of disputes between Sunni and Shiah Mohammedans on the occasion of the Muharram celebrations. The police having arrested several Sunnis, the mob demanded their release, and when this was refused stoned the police. European officers eventually fired on the mob, killing five and wounding forty. Troops were afterwards called out, and order was restored.

The National Congress opened at the end of December at Surat. There was a large attendance, which included 2,000 delegates. On the motion to elect Dr. Behari Ghose as president, there was great opposition. Eventually the sitting was suspended, and next day reassembled with the

same result. It was afterwards determined that the Congress should be postponed *sine die*.

The revenue from opium consumed in British India during the last ten years is as follows: £676,185 in 1895-6, £911,402 in 1905-6, £931,054 in 1906-7, and £1,031,450 is estimated for 1907-8. These increases are not wholly due to increased consumption, but to a considerable extent are the effect of higher duties and greater success in combating contraband trade.

In consequence of the drought the wheat area in the Punjab has fallen from 9,000,000 to 5,000,000 acres.

In consequence of illness, Sir Denzil Ibbetson resigned his post of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Sir Louis W. Dane was appointed his successor.

The report on the irrigation branch of the Public Works Department in Burma for the last year shows that the capital expenditure on the major works was Rs. 13,11,216; on the Shwebo Canal the net revenue from minor works was Rs. 16,58,085. During the year 951,953 acres were irrigated, as against 933,659 acres in the preceding year. The irrigation results on the Manda Canal have not come up to expectation, and during the year there was scarcely any expansion in the area irrigated. This is mainly due to the slow rate at which land occupied by heavy jungle is being applied for on lease.

His Majesty the King has conferred the title of "Queen Alexandra's Own" upon the 3rd Queen's Own Goorkha Rifles, in lieu of the existing title.

Lieutenant-General Sir E. G. Barrow has been appointed to succeed General Sir Alfred Gaselee as General Officer Commanding the Northern Army.

Mr. Saiyid Sharafuddin has been appointed a Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, in the place of Mr. Justice Sale, who has retired.

Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, has been appointed a Member of the Council of India, on the retirement of Sir John Edge.

Mr. Palamaneri Sundaram Aiyar Sivaswami Aiyar, a Vakil of the High Court of Judicature of Madras, has been appointed Advocate-General for the Presidency of Madras, in succession to Mr. Chettur Sankaran Nayar, C.I.E., who has been appointed a Puisne Judge at Madras.

Mr. Karamat Husain has been appointed Judge of the High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces.

It is reported that Sir Cowasjee Jehanghir, a Parsee merchant, has given £26,666 for the promotion of science teaching in Bombay.

BURMA.—In the course of his tour in Burma during the last quarter, Lord Minto held a Durbar of Chiefs of the Northern Shan States at Lashio, and another at Mandalay, for the Southern Shan Chiefs and the notables of Upper Burma. On both occasions he impressed upon his audience the necessity for energy and enterprise in taking advantage of the facilities for economic and educational progress provided under the *Pax Britannica*. At Mandalay allusion was made to the suggestion that Burma should be separated from the authority of the Indian Government. His Excellency said that in the course of his visit he had seen many striking indications of the great advance made by both Upper and Lower Burma under present conditions, an advance which, with the spread of railways and canals, held out high promise for the future. At Bhamo, the frontier post through which the whole trade route from the Chinese Empire has for centuries passed into Burma, he said he shared the hope that the railway system of Burma would be linked with that of China, to the great advantage of the commercial interests and friendly relations of the populations on both sides of the frontiers.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The railway-bridge over the Indus at Kushalmarh having been opened, Kohat is now connected with Rawalpindi by a direct broad-gauge line, which would make possible a rapid concentration of troops in case of a frontier rising similar to that of 1897.

A large gang of raiders attacked the Jalozei transport outpost on January 3, between Rabbi and Cherat, in the Peshawar district. They wounded two men and looted forty mules. The border police afterwards gave chase and recovered twenty-five mules at Garhijani.

In consequence of serious trouble caused by the Zakka Khel Afridis, on the frontier, for some considerable time past, it was decided to send a punitive expedition to the frontier. This expedition started from Peshawar on February 13, under the command of Major-General Sir J. Willcocks. On February 28, after some fighting, an interview between the Afridi Jirgah and the British Political Officer took place. The tribesmen sent a petition to General Willcocks, in which the main features were that the entire responsibility for the good behaviour of the Zakka Khels will in future be divided among other leading Afridi tribes. Raids and other offences by the Zakka Khels will be punished by direct reprisals against them by their fellow-tribesmen. They undertook to punish the notorious offenders who have so far escaped, and deposited a number of breech-loading rifles as a guarantee of good faith. On March 1 the withdrawal of the troops began. The estimated cost of the expedition is ten to twelve lakhs of rupees (£66,600 to £80,000).

TIBET.—The last instalment of the Tibetan indemnity having been paid, the Indian Government has evacuated the Chumbi Valley.

PERSIA.—The Shah on December 22 signed and sealed a declaration on the Koran, which he sent to the Assembly as a mark of his renewal of fidelity to the Constitution. He gave the British and Russian Representatives his formal and solemn assurances that he did not entertain any intention to abolish the Constitutional régime, but would strive to carry it out.

A state of general unrest prevails in the province of Azerbaijan, and especially in the northern portion of the Turco-Persian frontier, owing to recent movements of the



Turkish troops. The Turks have evacuated Suj Bulak, where they had been in occupation for several days.

The Shah has conferred on Mirza Mehdi Khan, Persian Chargé d'Affaires in London, the title of Mushir-ul-Mulk (Councillor of the Empire).

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.—On December 31 last Sir R. Wingate, the Sirdar, held a reception in the Palace at Khartoum in honour of Sir Eldon Gorst, to whom an address of welcome was presented. Sir Eldon Gorst, in reply, said he had taken the first opportunity of visiting the Sudan in order to see for himself the progress which had been effected since his last visit seven years ago, and to learn what were the wants and wishes of the inhabitants for the immediate future. There would, he said, be no change of any kind in the policy which had been laid down by Lord Cromer and approved by the British and Egyptian Governments, and which had already effected so wonderful a transformation. They would always find him just as ready as Lord Cromer to help and advise them in their work and support them in their difficulties.

Sir Eldon Gorst after his tour, in the course of which he also visited Port Sudan, Suakin, and the provinces of Berber and Dongola, and inspected all the Government establishments, considered that the progress, both material and moral, which has been effected since his last visit in those regions in 1901 is quite extraordinary, reflecting great credit on Sir R. Wingate and the British and Egyptian officials. What struck him most was the hold which the British officials have acquired over the sympathies of the Sudanese, and the confidence which exists between rulers and ruled throughout the country. "The population," Sir Eldon Gorst says, "are learning to work efficiently, and a general desire exists for elementary technical education, which promises well for the future generation." He also said, in reference to the provinces north of Assiut, "that they have profited most by the Assuan reservoir. Prosperity is increasing by leaps and bounds, and the price of agri-

cultural land there has nearly tripled itself in a few years. Wages have risen everywhere in Upper Egypt, and the condition of the mass of people was never better."

The Rodah Bridges were opened by the Khedive.

The receipts of the Egyptian Government in 1907 amounted to £E16,367,818, and the expenditure to £E14,280,413, showing a surplus of £E2,087,405.

CHINA.—Another step has been taken to remove the difference between Manchus and Chinese. The Throne has granted a memorial tending to place Chinese and Manchus on an equal footing in regard to punishments. Manchus will henceforth be judged in the same courts as Chinese, and the former Manchu judges will cease to exist.

An edict has been published for the reorganization of the old troops in the Yang-tsze Valley on modern lines, and authorizing the Board of Finance to raise money for a new Yang-tsze defence army under General Chiang-Kuei-Ti.

An edict was issued at Peking on March 6 sanctioning the Shanghai-Hang-Ning-po Railway loan, the agreement for which was signed with the Wai-wu-pu on the same day.

Sir Robert Hart has taken a year's leave of absence, Sir R. Bredon acting in his absence.

E. Osborne has been appointed an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council of the Colony of Hong Kong, and G. W. King Registrar of His Majesty's Supreme Court of China and Corea.

AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—The elections to the Legislative Council of Cape Colony took place on January 22, with the following results: Western Circle, Mr. J. D. Cartwright (Unionist); Sir Pieter Faure (Unionist) Mr. D. F. de V. Graaf (South African Party); Dr. J. Peterson (South African Party). Mr. Keeley, who was returned unopposed for British Bechuanaland, will sit as an Independent. The Ministry has been constituted as follows: Mr. J. X. Merriman, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. J. W. Sauer, Public Works; Mr. F. S. Malan, Agriculture; Mr. N. F. de Waal, Colonial Secretary; Mr. H.

Burton, Attorney-General; Mr. Currey and Mr. Villiers Graaf, Ministers without portfolio.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The first Parliament of the Colony elected under the new Constitution assembled on December 18. Mr. Marais was elected Speaker, and Mr. Grobler President, of the Legislative Council. The Parliament was then adjourned till May 13.

TRANSVAAL.—A settlement of the question of Asiatic Registration has been arrived at. All Indians legally entitled to register will be given an opportunity of doing so in three months from January, all prosecutions and penalties under the Act being meanwhile suspended. The leaders of the Asiatics undertake to use their influence to make voluntary registration general. The whole of the Asiatics imprisoned for disregard of the Registration Ordinance were released on January 31. The news has been received in India with satisfaction.

ZULULAND.—The Governor of Natal and party, travelling through Zululand, addressed a certain number of chiefs at Nqutu. The Governor assured them that the policy of the Government was to forgive and forget, and intimated that a pardon had been given to the rank and file connected with the rebellion of 1906.

CONGO.—His Majesty the King, on his opening Parliament on January 29, said: "My Government are fully aware of the great anxiety felt with regard to the treatment of the native population in the Congo State. Their sole desire is to see the government of that State humanely administered, in accordance with the spirit of the Berlin Act, and I trust that the negotiations now proceeding between the Sovereign of the Congo State and the Belgian Government will secure this object." These negotiations are still going on between King Leopold and his Government, and it is hoped that the details of the proposed arrangement will soon be agreed upon.

MOROCCO.—Sir Harry Maclean was released on February 6, on the following conditions: (1) A number of

Raisuli's coadjutors who were in captivity were handed over to their chief ; (2) a ransom of £20,000 is to be paid Raisuli, £5,000 of which is to be paid at once, and the remainder to be kept, for three years, as security for good behaviour ; and (3) Raisuli himself, with a number of his relations, is to be under British protection.

ABYSSINIA.—The long-delayed question of the delimitation of the southern frontier has been settled. Mr. T. B. Hopler, the British *Chargé d'Affaires*, obtained the Emperor's consent to a line which embodies the sphere claimed by Sir John Harrington, which is in accordance with the views of the British East African Government.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, v.c., has accepted the offer of the Commonwealth to become Honorary Colonel of the Australian Army.

Under the Government's scheme of universal military training, in eight years there will be 214,000 men trained and equipped for war.

Statistics relating to the productions of the Commonwealth in 1901-1907 show that there has been a steady development in agriculture. The total value of the products of the primary industries in 1906 was £65,000,000. The imports for 1907 amounted in value to £51,878,171, being an increase of £7,148,665 over those of 1906. The value of the exports amounted to £72,903,440, being an increase of £3,165,677 as compared with the previous year. The revenue for 1907 amounted to £10,847,648, being an increase of £1,526,643 over 1906.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The population of New South Wales at the end of last year was 1,571,000, being an increase of 40,330, which is the largest since 1885. The excess of immigration over emigration was 14,500, which is the largest for sixteen years, and is 5,500 more than in 1906. The net revenue for the State for the seven months of the financial year ending December amounted to £8,363,799, as compared with £7,657,022 for the corresponding period of the preceding financial year. Sir



H. H. Rawson's term as Governor has been extended for a year.

JAMAICA.—The Governor, on opening the Legislative Council, stated that the financial outlook was promising, the current year closing with a cash balance of £220,000, the largest in the recent history of the island. He also stated that the contributors to the earthquake relief fund may have great satisfaction in knowing that their generous aid had been of the greatest possible benefit in restoring Kingston.

CANADA.—Under the recent convention between Canada and France, most-favoured-nation treatment will be accorded in Canada to Austria-Hungary, Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Denmark, Japan, Persia, Russia, Sweden, Spain, Venezuela, and the British Colonies which do not enjoy preferential treatment.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier has arranged that the celebration of the tercentenary of Quebec and the nationalization of the battlefields shall take place during the week from July 22 to 29, 1908, and it is reported that the Prince of Wales will accompany the North Atlantic and French Squadrons, and make a stay of a week in Canada.

The total number of immigrants into Canada during the last year was 277,376, showing an increase of 61,464 over 1907.



## Obituary.

### THE LATE SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.

WE deeply regret to have to record the death, on March 9 last, of Sir Lepel Griffin, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, and who, after his retirement, occupied various public positions in England.

He founded this *Review* in 1886, which, in 1890, he handed over to the late Dr. Leitner, who carried it on till his death, and is now continued by his family.

Sir Lepel Griffin was born in 1840, and went to India in 1860. Nearly all his service was passed in the Punjab. We extract the following from the *Times* of March 11 :

"A book on the Punjab chiefs brought him early fame, and it was followed by another on the same theme. He became a recognized authority on questions affecting the native States of the Punjab, and he was also regarded as possessing exceptional knowledge on questions of land revenue. By 1878 he had become Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, having possibly owed his advancement in no small measure to a masterly dispatch in which he sought to vindicate the administration of the Punjab Government in the Trans-Indus districts. It has been said of him that he was the best Chief Secretary the Punjab has ever had. The second Afghan War occurred while he held this position, and the part he took in the negotiations during its later stages formed the most prominent episode in his official career. . . . For his services in Afghanistan Sir Lepel Griffin was, in 1881, made a Knight Commander of the Star of India. The remainder of his service in India was passed in the political department. He became Resident at Indore, and Agent to the Governor-General in Central India in 1881, and held that important post until 1888. His official career closed with a brief term as Resident at Haidarabad. Soon after he went to Central India he wrote that 'the largest States in this Agency, Gwalior and Indore, are those

in which the rulers spend the least on administration, and most neglect all those requirements which we specially associate with progress and civilization.' He was instrumental in effecting many reforms in Gwalior, and in setting in motion the spirit of wise administration which has since made it one of the best-governed States in India. Lord Dufferin in 1886 named Sir Lepel Griffin as one of the men who might be qualified to take in hand the reorganization of the enlarged Province of Burma, but the choice fell elsewhere. In view of the brilliant reputation he made in India, it was always a matter of surprise to his friends that his career stopped where it did.

"On his retirement, Sir Lepel Griffin . . . devoted his great energy to business undertakings. As chairman of the Burma Ruby Mines Company he guided that enterprise through some of the vicissitudes of its earlier years of existence. As chairman of the Imperial Bank of Persia he did much to maintain the vigour and stability of an institution which is so closely associated with the continuance of British prestige in the Shah's dominions. Persian affairs, indeed, were one of his main interests in the later years of his life, and he frequently spoke upon them in public, always with vigour and insight. A terse and capable speaker, he often joined in discussions on Indian subjects at the gatherings of various societies, particularly at the meetings of the East India Association, of which he was chairman for a considerable time.

"Among his numerous literary works, some of which have been already noted, his admirable monograph on Ranjit Singh, in the 'Rulers of India' series, is perhaps best known."

Sir Lepel Griffin married, in 1889, the daughter of Mr. L. Leupold, of Genoa, who survives him, together with two sons.

His body was cremated at Golder's Green on March 13, and simultaneously a memorial service was held at Holy Trinity Church, Sloan Street, London, S.W.

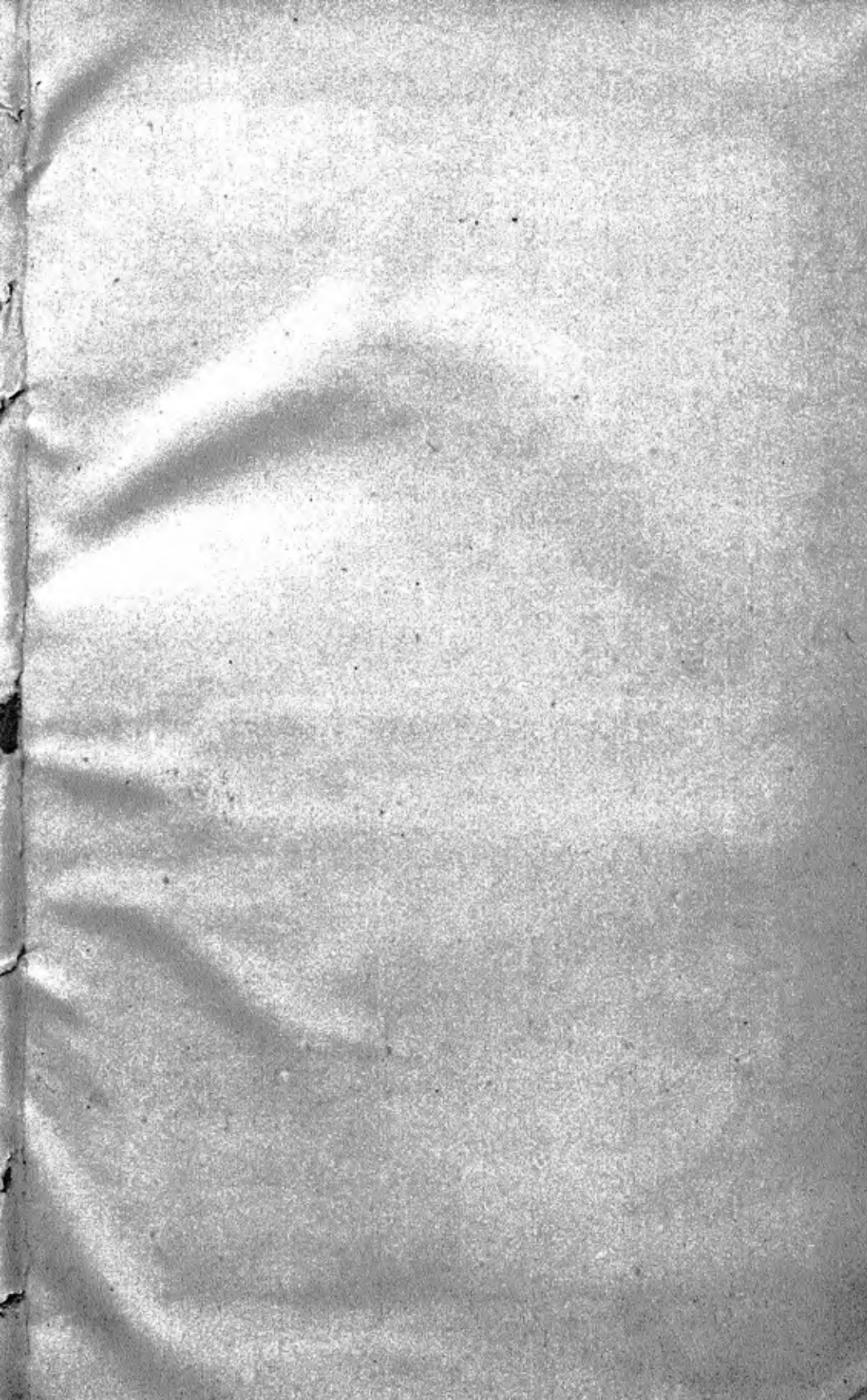
Other deaths have been recorded during the past quarter as follows :

Edward Lyall Brandreth, J.P., late I.C.S.;—Major-General Francis Rawdon Chesney, late Royal Engineers;—Captain Leonard Sawbridge Downes, R.F.A., India (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—General Frederick Roome, C.B., late Bombay Staff Corps (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Abyssinian campaigns, Afghan war 1879-80);—Oldbury Burne, I.C.S.;—Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L.;—General Sir George Corrie Bird, K.C.I.E., C.B., Indian Army;—Captain Alexander Tweedale, 1st Bombay Lancers;—Lieutenant-General James John McLeod, v.c., late R.E. (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Lieutenant-Colonel D. Stewart (Crimea 1856, Indian Mutiny 1858);—Henry Constantine Evelyn Ward, C.I.E., J.P., late Colonel I.C.S. (Indian Mutiny, siege of Delhi 1857, North-West Frontier campaigns 1858-59);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. Maitland, M.D., of the Indian Medical Service (retired), late Principal of, and Professor of Surgery at, the Madras Medical College;—David Brown, late of Grenadier Guards;—Charles Arthur Kelly, Bengal Civil Service (retired);—Charles Henry Maude, late Captain Madras Army;—William Boxburgh Tucker, late Deputy Commissioner United Provinces, India;—Colonel B. K. Clubley, late Indian Army (Chin-Lushai Expeditionary Force 1889-90);—Captain Paget Bohn Bourke (Mooltan 1848-49, Kaffir war 1850-53, South African war);—Richard Vicars Boyle, M.L.C.E., C.S.I., formerly P.W.D., India;—Walter Charles Gordon Macpherson, formerly Advocate of the High Court of Judicature, Hon. Magistrate for North-West Provinces, India;—Major-General Frederick Charles Barber, late 29th Native Infantry (Madras);—Evelyn Gray, I.C.S.;—Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I.;—Colonel Arthur F. Pattye, late Bombay Staff Corps;—Lieutenant-General Evelyn Bradford, Bengal Staff Corps (retired);—Colonel Robert Henry Palmer, R.A. (retired), late Bengal Staff Corps;—Spencer Walsh Tyndall, late Sind Commission;—Henry Albert Mangles, late Bengal Civil Service;—Charles Carter, J.P., formerly a Captain in the 58th Native Infantry;—Rev. G. U. Pope, M.A., D.D., M.R.A.S., University Teacher of Tamil and Telugu;—General Sir Richard Strachey, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., LL.D. (CAMB.), whose services in and connection with India extended over seventy years;—Alan Arthur Clarke-Jervoise, late Bombay Civil Service;—Colonel Clements Thomas Hallett, late East India Company's Service;—Major-General Sir Frederick Goldsmid, for twenty years in the East India Company;—Major-General Sir Henry Newdigate, K.C.B., Colonel-Commandant of the Rifle Brigade;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. H. Moore-Brabazon, late of the Bengal Staff Corps;—Major-General Henry Parlett Bishop, late Royal (Bengal) Artillery;—Major-General David Simson Buist, Indian Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny 1857-58, Cosseah and Jynteah Hills expedition 1860-63, Bhutan expedition 1865);—Colonel Wellesley Gordon Walker Robinson, C.B. (Crimea, Malay Peninsula 1875-76, Boer war 1881, Egyptian campaign 1882);—Captain J. Robertson (Persian war, Outram's force in the final capture of Lucknow);—Sir Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson, K.C.S.I., late Indian Civil Service, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab;—

Major Charles Wyndham, late 9th Bengal Light Cavalry ;—Major the Hon. D. Forbes-Sempill, killed in the Zakka Khel expedition (Hazara campaign 1891, Chitral campaign 1895, South Africa) ;—Francis William Egerton, Lieutenant-Colonel (retired) Indian Staff Corps, late Deputy Commissioner of the Punjab ;—Major-General C. S. Fowle, late Bengal Staff Corps (Punjab campaign 1848-49) ;—Colonel Charles Edward Torriano, C.B. (Crimea, Indian Mutiny) ;—Colonel J. A. Nunn, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., F.R.C.V.S., of H.M.'s Royal Army, Veterinary Department (retired), late Principal Veterinary Office, India ;—Captain J. D. Stoddart, late Supply and Transport Corps (India) ;—Right Rev. Walter Ruthven Pym, D.D., Bishop of Bombay ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Bovill, Indian Medical Service ;—Major-General William Paske (Sutlej campaign 1845, Indian Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-General Sir John Wellesley Thomas (Afghanistan 1841-42, North China 1860) ;—Major-General Joseph William Hughes (Sepoy revolt 1857-58) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Newall, formerly of the Indian Staff Corps (Afghan war 1878-80, Manipore expedition 1891).

*March 14, 1908.*







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28

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